VIII.

BRASIL AND THE LEGENDARY ISLANDS OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC: THEIR HISTORY AND FABLE. A CONTRIBUTION TO THE "ATLANTIS" PROBLEM.

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PLATES XX–XXII.

Read JUNE 10. Published AUGUST 12, 1912.

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THE subject of the imaginary islands of the western ocean has again and again been touched upon by Irish writers, but, up to the present, on purely local lines. I certainly do not claim even comparative completeness for this paper, but have striven to trace out the origins, whether in nature or in human fancy, for these beliefs. A collection of the early references to Brasil and St. Brendan's Isle is given which may be useful to students, even outside our islands, and the bearing of such fancies on the discovery of America must be of perennial interest. As such I offer this study to others.

I.—THE IRISH SEA-BELIEFS.

The early inhabitants of Ireland, keenly intelligent, poetical, and with an unusual appreciation for natural beauty, stood on the western coasts face to face with phenomena of mystery and might. It is not wonderful that the great strength roaring beneath their cliff-forts and on the sandhills of their settlements deeply impressed them. Older races had bowed in awe before tamer seas: the Egyptian had feared the "great green one"; the Hebrew had seen God's path in those great waters, and had heard their hymns of praise or cries of deep anguish, when the trouble was on the sea, and it uttered its voice and raised its hands on high; the early Greeks had evolved from its waves

and whirlpools the forms of the Sirens, Charybdis, and Scylla, with her barking waves; the tutor of Nero foretold the loosening of its bonds and the discovery of an unknown continent; while even in the deserts, far from its shores, the Arabian prophet pictured "black night on the deep, which wave on wave doth cover, cloud upon wave, gloom upon gloom." Much more so the Irish, on the outskirts of the known world, felt the wonder that we cannot shelter ourselves from, even by knowledge of natural laws; and their scholars were not unacquainted with what the Scriptures and the classics had to tell.

The coast-dwellers saw the mirage or the cloud-bank brooding on the water; to them it was a floating island,[1] possibly to be disenchanted, as Bofin had been. They saw the foam spring high out to sea, and strange reflections below the waves; it was a magic land that lay there, and the gold-roofed towers and domes glinted deep under the waters[2]; nay, it rose over the waters once in seven years, as men could attest. The ships of the Danaan and Sidh[3] (demons and gods) sailed visible to all, reality and no mirage to the older tribes. The current suddenly foamed in a long tideway, or twisted and writhed; and to the onlookers it was clear that some vast monster swam or turned beneath it; while those lost at sea or in the surf, trying to land, were devoured (thought the survivors) by monsters. The Irish, of course, had no monopoly of such views. Even at the end of the sixteenth century Hakluyt[4] contradicted those who said that the currents "bee swallowed by and cast up againe by the breathing of Demogorgon."

The Irish went farther; they regarded the waves as sentient prophetic beings, for, in our oldest writers, "the great waves of Erin"—Rudhraigh, Cliodhna,[5] and Tuath—raised their deep voices to foretell disaster and crime, and the wave of Malbay mourned for the death of Keane of Ross, so late as in the reign of George II. To the early bards the waves were the white-maned horses, the silver-horned stags, and the many-hued salmon of

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[1] So also on the opposite shore of the Old World the Chinese had legends of "Isles of the Blessed," 700 miles eastward in the Yellow Sea; places of everlasting spring, gladness, and beauty. Their secret was revealed to the Emperor Tshe Huan Ti about B.C. 219. Youths went out to find the Isle, and saw it in roseate light on the horizon, but storms drove them away. Similar stories are told in Japan of the happy isle of Oraison, far out to sea.—Nansen, "In Northern Mists," vol. i, p. 377.

[2] Legend of Kilstuithin, *infra*; also "Voyage of Bran" (Revue Celtique, x. 1889, p. 55).

[3] "Demon ships" are even recorded in early Annals. See under A.D. 648 (Annals of Ulster); see also A. F. M., 744; also for an appearance at the Fair of Tailltenn in A.D. 763 and A.D. 956, "Ships sailing in the air"; see "Book of Leinster," p. 274 *a* 37; Ulster Journal of Archaeology; 1859, vol. vii, p. 137; and "Irish Mirabilia" in the *Speculum Regale* (1250), Kuno Meyer, *Eriu*, vol. iv, p. 12.

[4] "Voyages," vol. ii, p. 9.

[5] Dr. Joyce, "Irish Names of Places," vol. i, part ii, chap. v, probably Glandore, Co. Cork. Tuath was probably at Dundalk. Sir Samuel Ferguson, so rich in allusions to ancient Irish beliefs, gives this legend in "The Tain Quest," "Roared and wailed white Cleenagh's wave—Rose the *cnn* of Inver Rory."

Manannan mac Lir, the sea-god; they were, when calm, the flowery meads over which his chariot sped with flashing, bounding coursers.[1] Some, even in our time, saw them as misty human forms—storm-spirits—before great gales.[2]

In the centre of all this weird mystery the pagan Irish placed their heaven, the "Land of Youth," the "Land of the Living," with so firm a belief that, even when they adopted a faith in whose paradise "there was no more sea," they brought their belief along with them.[3] Devout Christian writers rendered "Tir Tairngiri" as the "Land of Promise" and the "Kingdom of Heaven" in notes on the Epistles to the Corinthians and the Hebrews;[4] the blending was complete and lasting; "Magh Mell of many flowers" was the "Land of Truth," the "Land of the Promise of the Blessed," "whose truth was sung without falsehood." This, however, was equally the "Land of Fair Women," fitter for Islam than for "the Faith"; to this Isle, Connla, King Conn's son, was lured by the woman of the fairy mound.[5] It was the "Land of the Living," to which the fairy bore Oisin "across the western wave" for three centuries; there Bran, son of Febal, and his comrades dwelt with the fair lady and her daughters. On the other hand, the longing for a land where there should be no sorrow, or age, death, or decay, the pathetic desire to escape the sadness of life, led even the austere and pious to seek for a happy island: the penitent Hui Corra went out "to meet the Lord upon the sea"; and Brendan, the holy and blameless, eagerly sought the "Land of Promise." Saint or sensualist, joyous or troubled, yearned for the blessed island, as elusive as the mirage itself.

The island was not alone in the deep; "thrice fifty islands" as large as, or "twice and thrice" larger than, Erin, "were counted"; many of these, we shall see, figure in the Voyages of Brendan and elsewhere. The classics were brought into unison with this belief, as the psalms had been; and we hear of "the Hesperides to the west of Aran, where the sun goes to his couch." The kindred races in Britain doubtless contributed their quota: "Cingitur oceano memorabilis insula, nullis desolata bonis; non fur, nec praedo, nec hostis insideatur; ibi, nec vis, nec bruma, nec aestas, immoderata furit . . . Ver manet aeternum, nec flos nec lilia desunt, nec rosae, nec violae flores, et poma

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[1] See, e.g., "Voyage of Bran" (ed. Kuno Meyer, 1895), p. 10.

[2] "Irish Local Legends," by Lageniensis (Rev. J. O'Hanlon), section xxx.

[3] Those who held that Eden lay eastward were met (both by those who held that the Earth was spherical and those who held it was flat) by the argument that Asia reached around to opposite Europe, so that the farthest east was near the west shores of Ireland.

[4] Cited by the late A. Nutt ("Voyage of Bran," ii, p. 226) from seventh- and eighth-century MSS.

[5] A beautiful girl of the Aes Sidh took him in a *currach* (canoe) of glass over the sea—Lebor na hUidhre.

sub una fronde gerit pomus," says one bard, singing about Avalon[1]; "deep-meadowed, happy, fair, with orchard lawns":—

". . . that desired gate
To immortality and endless rest,
Within the landless waters of the West,"

as the modern poets have rendered it.

We must now study the effect of this deep-based belief on Irish literature and, through it, on the belief of Western Europe, and, through that, to the vast results in the spirit of discovery and colonization. Practical as the result was, the poetical side was maintained among the Irish from the days when they wrote of "the secrets of the hoary deep, the dark illimitable ocean, without bound, without dimension," to the tales of the fishermen and peasants of our coasts and islands at the present day.

2.—EARLY "IMRAMA" OR SEA-TALES.

The early Gael loved sea-tales. How many of these were lost in the wreck of Irish literature we may never know; some may even yet be recovered, but no less than five have reached us, so we can form a good idea of the Irish belief about the outer sea. These are the voyages of Bran son of Febal; of Maelduin son of Ailill, "edge of battle"; of the Ui Corra; of Snedgus and MacRiagla and of St. Brendan. The spirit of the five *imrama* is identical; some dominant passion sends the hero out to sea; Bran to seek a fair lady; Maelduin to avenge his father; Snedgus and his comrade to save a condemned man from a fiery death; the Ui Corra to seek the Lord on the sea; and Brendan to reach the Land of Promise. The incidents are closely alike: Bran and Maelduin are pulled by a clue to their lovers; the Miller of Hell and the isles of laughter and weeping are visited by Maelduin and the Ui Corra. The legends of Maelduin and Brendan have equally got the isle of singing birds, the walled islands, the monsters, sea-cats, and pursuing whales,[2] and the visions of hell recur in several. The punishment of the robber after the banquet is in the tales of Brendan and Maelduin, the woman drawing water at the magic brazen fort[3] is in those of Hui Corra and Maelduin. As we shall see, Plato's description of Atlantis is closely similar, and may have become

[1] An early versifier of Geoffrey of Monmouth. Avalon (Insula pomorum) had no serpents, spiders, or tempests.

[2] This recalls the tales in Nieuhoff's voyages, and is well illustrated by the quaint pictures in the map of Olaus Magnus (reproduced in Nördenskiold's Atlas). Arngrim Islandus in "The true state of Island" (Iceland), 1592, p. 531, tells us much about the "cete grandia instar montium," Trollwall, Tufflewall, and Diabolica Cete. The *Trollhualar* are also described in the "Speculum Regale," a work angrily refuted by Arngrim.

[3] Compare the curious fort (cashel), palisade (sonnach), and bridge in "The Vision of Mac Conglinne" (ed. Kuno Meyer, 1892, p. 36)—a contrast (yet parallel) recalling the contrasted ramparts of Château Gaillard (of "iron" and "butter") in the saying of Richard Cœur de Lion.

known through some Greek-reading cleric. The same seems true of Lucian's "True History." The affinities to the sagas of Ulysses, Aeneas, and Hindbad of the sea are striking, and the author of "Bran" certainly knew something of the legends of Ulysses and Dido. The possible Norse influence we must study later. The "Bran" legend mentions Mongan, who died in 620, as about to be begotten; the "Hui Corra" were later than Ailbe of Emly, who died 551; and their saga names Mocholmac son of Colman, in Aran, whose feast was on July 25th in the calendar of Oengus. The Hui Corra themselves were commemorated on 31st December; but the years in neither case are given. The time setting of Snedgus is 639–642; and Brendan died in 576.

The legends very probably date from the ninth century to the end of the eleventh, the earliest manuscript of "Maelduin" being just before 1100, while one of "Brendan" is alleged to be of the ninth century. "Bran" and "Maelduin" are frankly pagan; the others are devoutly Christian. "Bran," though varnished, shows the most primitive texture, while "Maelduin" may date before 850. "Snedgus" is the least interesting, being nearly colourless. Some of the episodes have affinities to Adamnan's "Vision"; the latter and St. Brendan's "Navigatio" had wide-spread influence on Italian thought, and are among the ancestors of the great Florentine epic.[1] The lesser stories (apart from the niche in British literature given by Tennyson to Maelduin) had little influence; but how far the "Navigatio" of Brendan reacted on Dante and the fifteenth-century explorers can hardly be estimated—certainly not in these pages.

Let us now briefly study the *imrama* arranged rather in order of primitive character than by the date of their alleged periods.

BRAN.[2]—Bran son of Febal, sleeping near his fort (*dûn*), hears sweet music, and awakes to seize a magic apple branch. An unknown woman sings of "a glorious island round which sea-horses glisten—a fair course against the white swelling surge." In it dwells no wailing, treachery, death, or sickness; it glows many-coloured in incomparable haze, with snowy cliffs and strands of dragon-stones and crystals. She vanishes, and Bran, with twenty-seven followers, embarks. They meet the sea-god Mananann mac Lir in his chariot, visit Magh Mell, the Isle of Laughter, and the Isle of Women, whose queen draws Bran to it by a magic clue. Entranced by love, the visitors do not note the flight of time; in apparently undiminished youth and strength they return to Ireland; it is only when the first to step ashore falls to ashes, as if

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[1] A. F. Ozanam, "Dante" (Paris, 1840), p. 334; Voyage of Brendan; see also Achille Jubinal, "Les sources poétiques de la Divine Comédie," 2nd ed., Paris, 1836, tome v, p. 373.

[2] "Voyage of Bran," vol. i, p. 12.

centuries dead, that they know the truth. The survivors tell their tale without landing, and sail out into the deep, never to be seen again.

MAELDUIN.[1]—Ailill, "edge of battle," has a son Maelduin, but is killed and burned by the men of Leix before his son's birth. The boy playing in the ruined church, on the ashes of his unknown father, is taunted for not revenging his parent. He goes to his mother, a nun, in the Eoghanacht of Ninuss, in Burren, Co. Clare, and learns the truth. Nuca, a wizard, advises him to make a currach or boat of three hides (like St. Brendan in 540), and the youth and his comrades sail away. They approach a fort on the shore of an islet, and hear a man boasting of having killed Ailill; but a storm sweeps them into "the great endless ocean." They visit numerous islets, some walled, some with high cliffs, others low and sandy. On one demons enjoy a horse-race on a magic race-course; on others red-hot swine issue from caves all day, but after sunset retire, so that wondrous birds and the seafarers can feast on golden fruit in safety. On other islands, ants as large as foals are seen. In a wonderful white *dún*, a cat leaps on four pillars and a rich banquet is spread. Maelduin's foster-brother steals a necklace from the wall, and the cat springs through him, burning him to ashes. A fiery river burns a spear thrust into it. A lady entertains them in a brazen fort, and, angry at the advances of Maelduin, vanishes with her *dún*. The voyagers see isles of psalm-singing birds, magic fountains yielding whey, milk, and wine; a rainbow stream; boiling, glassy, and cloudy seas; a submarine country with roofed *dúns*, people and cattle (one of which is seized by a hideous serpent coiled round a tree); an isle like a silver column with hanging veils (perhaps an iceberg), and an island of women more complaisant than the lady of the *dún*. They visit island monasteries in the farthest deep with anchorites and monks from the community of St. Brendan of Birrha,[2] and from Torry Island.[3] A recluse bids them to return home, foretelling that they shall find the slayer of Ailill, but he must be forgiven for the sake of Him who preserved them through all the dangers of their journey, though they, too, were worthy of death.

THE HUI CORRA.[4]—Lochan, Enne, and Silvester were sons of Conall and his wife, Canderg, daughter of the Erenagh of Clogher. Their parents, despairing of issue, fasted against the devil; they had three sons and dedicated them to the fiend "by heathen baptism." When the youths grew up they destroyed half the churches in Connacht to honour their patron. They intended to destroy Clogher, but were kindly received by the Erenagh, their grandfather. That night Lochan dreamed of heaven and hell, and, full of remorse, won over

[1] *Revue Celtique*, vol. ix, p. 447, vol. x, p. 63.
[2] Perhaps the other Brendan, St. Brendan of Ardfert.
[3] A legend still told in Torry closely resembles one in the *Imrum*.
[4] *Revue Celtique*, vol. xiv, p. 37.

his brothers; after a year's study they insisted on being given a penance. They were told to rebuild the churches, and, at the end of the year, came to that of Sen Comman at Cenn mara (Kinvarra), on the border of Clare and Galway. Impressed by a glorious sunset and the unfrozen sea, when the lakes were sheeted with ice, they got a boat of skins and sailed forty days westward "to meet the Lord on the sea." They, too, visited the Isle of Weepers, the Isle on a Pillar, the Rainbow Stream and the Island of Hell. They meet the anchorite Dega, disciple of St. Andrew, and the monks of St. Ailbe. They reached an island full of purple and red flowers, shining grass, and gorgeous birds, woods full of honey, and sweet-flavoured lakes. A hermit, a disciple of Christ Himself, sent them to the Point of Spain to build a church, the fame of which reached the *comarb* of St. Peter at Rome. The survivor, a bishop, told the tale to St. Mocholmoc of Aran in Galway Bay.

SNEDGUS.[1]—Certain men of Ross (on the borders of Monaghan and Louth) murdered King Domnall (A.D. 639 to 642) for his tyranny, and were sentenced to be burned in a house. Snedgus and Mac Riagla, sent by St. Columba, commuted this doom to being set adrift in little boats[2]; and while themselves returning in a *currach* to Iona, determined to explore the outer sea to the north-west of Erin. They visited a river of milk, a walled island, islands of catheads, houndheads, and swineheads, an island of birds singing canticles, and an island where the men of Ross, saved from the sea, dwelt with Elijah and Enoch till the last battle of Doomsday. At last they came to an island of devout folk, whose king bid them to go back. In a year and a day they reached Erin, with the prophetic message that foreigners will overcome and dwell in half that island, "because of the great neglect the men of Erin show to God's testament and his teaching."

BRENDAN.—The greatest *Imram* is that of the *Navigatio.* It exists in various stages,[3] and is possibly a ninth-century sermon,[4] elaborated up to

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[1] *Revue Celtique*, vol, ix, p. 14, from the "Yellow Book of Lecan."

[2] Punishment of setting adrift on the sea in a boat of one hide is recognized in other Irish writings. See "Tripartite Life of St. Patrick" (ed. Whitley Stokes, vol. i, pp. clxxiv, 222–288). MacCuill, a son of death, on his repentance so goes on the sea. One recalls the verse in the "Chronicon Scotorum," 622, on the death of Conaing, son of Ardan, "Great bright sea-waves and the sun that punished him in his weak wicker skiff." See also Adamnan's "Life of St. Columba," lib. ii, ch. lxiii, for the stinging marine animals (? jellyfish) hustling the skin-currachs. Caesar, it may be remembered, describes *currachs*, "De Bell. Civil.," l, liv. See also Pliny, "Nat. Hist.," vii, lvi; Solinus, cap. xxxv, for other descriptions of these hide-boats. For the intervention of clerics on behalf of prisoners, see St. Patrick's "Epistle to Coroticus," and Ann. Four Masters, 684, "Adamnan went to Saxon Land" to request a restoration of the prisoners from Magh Breagh.

[3] "Early English Poetry" (Percy Society), Thomas Wright, F.S.A., 1844, and Ozanan, *loc. cit.* British Museum, Cotton Vesp. D xi Bx. Also "Anglo-Norman Trouvères" ("Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine," vol. xxxix).

[4] A ninth-century MS. is said to exist in Rome (Vatican Library). There is also a twelfth-

its present form by the eleventh century. It was known in some form to the Arabian geographers in Spain about 1150. It spread beyond Ireland among the Normans, being translated for King Henry Beauclerc and his wife[1]; and the Anglo-Norman Conquest spread it more and more. It passed to the Portuguese, and probably stimulated the designs of Prince Henry the Navigator, and a little later those of Columbus. It affected monastic eschatology, and was a source of Dante's great poem.

What truth lies behind it is difficult to guess. Matter-of-fact writers have treated it as a genuine log-book; but poets, like Florence MacCarthy, have more truly seen in it a revelation of great symbolic beauty. It is more than probable that St. Brendan (like SS. Columba, Colman, and Flannan) was actually a daring voyager; and that in some lost "Life," his actual visits to various islands were told. The present tapestry is embroidered with many threads of other makers. Legends of monks and hermits, who fled to the sea-rocks from Skellig to Iceland; tales, perhaps, of Helluland, "Vinland the Good," and "Whiteman's Land," overheard from the Norse Viking[2] by Irish friends and thralls; behind all lay the vision of the first Christian saint, who saw from an island-rock the sea of crystal; the sea of glass mingled with fire; the great river, with its leafy trees, and their fruits; the burning mountain cast into the sea; the angels holding the winds that they should not blow on the sea, and the vast monster rising from the waves. The Book of Lismore[3] has the simplest and probably the earliest version, lacking many marvels; but we are less concerned with the actual facts than with the stories that so impressed the world.[4] Columbus was in touch not only with the Portuguese, but with Bristol, the merchants of which sent seven expeditions to search for Brazil before the fifteenth century ended. He also (as we have often noted) had at least one Irish sailor with him on the great voyage of 1492; from any or all of these he may have heard the Brendan legends.

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century copy (Hardy's "Descriptive Catalogue of Matters relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland," vol. i, p. 159).

[1] Versified in France. The mild command of King Henri and Adlass his Queen won the poet to write "What to St. Brandan erst befell."

[2] See *infra*. I do not attempt to decide whether the Irish or Norse tales had the precedence; but the former probably had an earlier basis, and they helped each other.

[3] *Anecdota Oxoniensis*, "Lives of the Saints from the Book of Lismore" (Whitley Stokes, 1890), p. 247.

[4] Besides the other works here quoted, see Cardinal Moran's "Acta Sancti Brecani" (1872), and Rev. J. O'Hanlon's "Brendaniana" (1893), and "Lives of the Irish Saints," vol. v (May 16th), p. 407. The literature is large; some suggestive notes occur in a paper by Rev. T. Olden in Journal Roy. Soc. Antt. Ireland, vol. xxi, p. 675; and "Curious Myths of the Middle Ages" (Rev. Sabine Baring-Gould), p. 250, "The Terrestrial Paradise," and p. 524, "The Fortunate Isles."

It seems well established that Braenfinn[1] (as he was named from a "fair rain" which flooded Fenit, near Tralee, or from his "fair body") was a son of Findlug, and born at Alltraige Caille, near Fenit, Co. Kerry. He was foster-son of the noble and holy lady, Ita of Kilkeedy, and founded two great monasteries at Ardfert and Clonfert, where fine remains of later, but still ancient, cathedrals and churches exist. He is surnamed from Clonfert or from his patronymic "Mac Findloga" to distinguish him from the other famous saint of Birrha. He died May 16th, 576. He was famous for his voyages, the first a failure, the second successful. The legends tell of his going "alone to Sliabh Daidche, where he saw the mighty intolerable ocean on every side, and beheld the beautiful noble island with trains of angels." Brendan took a hide-boat and sailed finding many islands; some seem genuine, others purely fanciful. The Isle of Sheep; the bird-full island, with very little wood and no grass, but with a rivulet and sandy beach; the island with enclosures and "cashels"; the islands with cliffs and creeks, waterfalls, stores of fish, sea-cats on the reefs, and hermits on the plateaux—had equivalents off the shores of Kerry and Connacht. The walrus, with furze-like bristles, and huge boar's tusks; St. Ailbe's Isle; the flat island of the monks, covered with white and purple flowers, "marigolds," and large grape-like apples; the island of trees full of fruits and flowers, seem comparatively credible. So do the wonders of the north, the flakes of glassy ice, impeding the hide-boats; the whirlpool (of the Maelström or Corrievreckan ?); the great icebergs, shining clear as crystal; the volcanoes covered with cinders and slag, like a forge, and throwing up flames, and the dark dwarfs (? Esquimaux) who carry off a monk; though ill-assorted with the apparently tropic isles. With these are absolute fancies, the whale "Iasconius," on whose scaly rind the saint spends a night[2] (which later myth-makers developed into two Easters or even into seven years'

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[1] Brendan of Cluain (fearta) in "Calendar of Oengus" and "Mart. of Tallaght"; Brendan, Abbot of the Happy Isle, see "Chronicon Scotorum" and "Ann. Four Masters." The Normans call the saint *Broladre* and *Brendan l'ancien*, the Norse, *Alebrandus* and *Bishop Brene*, or the Bishop of Brene. One, however, suspects Alebrandus to be the Adelbrand who discovered Newland to the west of Iceland in 1285, and attracted the Brendan tales to himself in the usual fashion. It is also possible that some of the adventures of the noted traveller Bertrandon de Broegmore, a Burgundian, noted for his pilgrimages, may have been attracted to "Borondon." Von Linschoten, a Dutch writer, speaks, in 1589, of the Isle of San Borondon 100 leagues west from the Canaries; the Spaniards call it "San Morondon."

[2] This was a most favourite episode with later readers; the idea has been quaintly illustrated in early manuscripts. It was known to the Norse ("The True State of Island," 1592, by Arngrim, in Hakluyt's Voyages, 1598, p. 531). Arngrim says that the belief in "whales like islands" arose from the Bishop of Brene, called by the ancient Norwegians Brendanus. He gravely refutes the legend "how could the anchor hold on the slippery skin of a whale," "Oh, silly mariners that in digging cannot discern whale's flesh from earth!" He, however, tells of floating islands, p. 523. It is well illustrated by the maps of Olaus Magnus (1557) and Gustaldi (1564); see "Voyages of the Brothers Zeni" (F. W. Lucas), plate iiii, and Periplus, plate xlv, and Facsimile Atlas, p. 59.

sojourn); the rock where Judas enjoys each year a brief respite[1] from the everlasting bonfire, and the island, surrounded by darkness, save once in seven years, as is still believed of Brasil, Kilstuitheen, and Manister Ladra. In the end Brendan reaches his goal—the island of fruit-trees, where the sun sets not, with no limits, and its great, still river, flowing from the north—the Land of Promise—"when the Most High brings all nations under subjection that land will be revealed." It is hard to blame those who imagined that America and the Ohio were intended.[2]

Some of the northern features may have been derived from monks who visited Iceland and left there the books and crosses found by the Norsemen when they "discovered" that island about 868.[3] Dicuil, the Irish geographer, knew of it, and wrote of "Thile" and the frozen ocean before 825.[4] An Anglo-Saxon map of the tenth century shows "Tylen" to the north-west of Ireland, and "Island" north of "Norveci."[5] It is less easy to see whence the accurate ideas of the tropical isles were derived save from eastern pilgrims met at Jerusalem, or from pure imagination. [Since writing this, I see the suggestion that the description by St. Isidore, Bishop of Seville, relating to the Fortunate Isles, about 599–636, originated the "Insula Uvarum" of St. Brendan and the grapes of Vineland, but Jerusalem pilgrims may have exchanged notes, or Irish wanderers seen the isles of the Mediterranean. The passage in the works of Isidorus Hispalensis tells of the Fortunate Isles: "Fortunatae Insulae faelices et beatae fructuum ubertate . . . poma sylvarum parturiunt, fortuitis vitibus juga collium vestiuntur."[6] This certainly has much in common with the Sagas and *Imrama*. Copies of Isidore's maps exist of the seventh and tenth centuries.] The Irish lay on "the fringe of things" of the Old World; it is unendurable to live in mist on the edge of a precipice, so they mentally and actually strove to penetrate the gloom beyond them, and, in the words of Seneca, "Thule was no longer earth's bounds." Then every suggestion was welcomed and expanded into detailed assertion, till the whole took shape round the nucleus of St. Brendan's expedition to the "gardens ever blossoming across the western sea where none grows old."

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[1] One of the tenderest thoughts of some "humble and holy man of heart" that could not leave even Judas to suffer without mitigation. Matthew Arnold has versified it in modern times.

[2] I have seen some eighteen years since a Christmas supplement to a Clare newspaper showing the saint in modern pontificals preaching to several Indian chiefs of conventional costume and aspect

[3] For the Norse equivalents see Eireks Saga Víðförla of the fourteenth century. Eric, son of King Thrand, seeks the Deathless land. Many of the Brendan episodes recur, such as the inaccessible tower or island and the isle of purple flowers. It may have a historic basis in the fact of King Eric in 1288 sending a certain Rolf to explore beyond Iceland.

[4] Dicuil, "De Mensura Orbis Terrae."

[5] Encyclopaedia Britannica, xvii, p. 638.

[6] *Opera*, ed. 1617. Originum, liber xiv, cap. vi.

3.—THE NORSE SAGAS AND IRELAND.[1]

It may be worth examining a side-current of thought likely to have corroborated Irish belief, namely that derived from the Northmen. Dicuil, about A.D. 825, was told by monks who had been on Thule some thirty years before, much about that island, the frozen ocean, and numerous small islands. Some of the latter were "full of innumerable sheep and birds," recalling Brendan's isles, "but now, from the Norse pirates, they are empty of Irish monks."[2] The Landnamabok tells how Floke Vilgerdson came to Iceland about A.D. 868. He brought three trained ravens, to be let out at intervals, because (says the writer or editor, Ari Frode, A.D. 1148) the Norse had not yet any loadstone (leidarsteinn). Floke found that Christian "Papar" had left Irish books, bells, and croziers.[3] Among Icelandic names referring to the Irish are Irske leiđ, Irsku buter, Westmanna Eyjar. Nearly two centuries later the sagas tell of a succession of sea-rovers reaching the mysterious lands beyond Greenland, "The Vinland Voyage over the Unknown Sea," and we must, even at risk of touching at too great length well-known ground, tell somewhat about the men who preceded Columbus, and see how far any of them may have been in touch with Ireland. None of the sagas were written by or for critical persons; some, like the late Flatoë Bōk (*circa* 1390), are full of mythic additions, perhaps none are free. Two centuries of tradition, even under the most favourable circumstances (such as prevailed in Iceland), may well have introduced marvels such as are found even in such historic and nearly contemporary Irish sagas as the "Wars of the Gaedhil" or the "Triumphs of Torlough." In other sagas of Iceland we have vampires and ghosts, embodying themselves in cattle or hiding in a heap of stockfish. So in the Vinland tales the grapes and self-sown corn may be taken (as Nansen thinks) from Isodorus Hispalensis, or from the Irish *Imrama*, or from monks trained by the Pentateuch and Psalms to think of the "Land of Promise" as full of corn and wine. The grapes (even leaving out the intoxicant ones of the Flatoë Bok) may be bilberries,

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[1] For the following see generally:—"Antiquitates Americanae," 1837; The Discovery of America by the Northmen (N. L. Beamish), 1840; "Discovery of America" (A. J. Weise), 1884; "The Finding of Wineland the Good" (A. M. Reeves), 1890; "Discovery of America" (H. Harrisse), 1892; "Discovery of the Norsemen in America" (Rev. J. Fischer, transl. B. H. Soulsby), 1902; and "In Northern Mists" (Dr. F. Nansen, transl. A. G. Chater), 1911. The first and fourth (especially the latter) collect all the Sagas and Annals. "The Heimskringla" (civ), "The Landnamabok," and "The Eyrbiggia Saga" are also accessible in translations.

[2] "De Mensura Orbis Terram." The monks "from our Scotia" had been on the island for 100 years before their expulsion.

[3] "Landnamabōk."

or cranberries, "Vinber."[1] Dr. Nansen is very probably right in thinking that Leif's real discoveries got embellished with touches from accounts of southern lands.[2] The tales of Eric the Red, his relations and friends, could hardly have failed to reach the Irish in forms such as we read in the tales of "The Finding of Vinland the Good." Bjarne,[3] Eric's friend (*c.* 986), is said to have started from Iceland to Greenland, to have been lost in a fog, and reached an unknown land. His tale led Eric's son, Leif (who had been sent by that terrible royal missionary, King Olaf Tryggveson, from Wendland to Greenland "to proclaim the Faith"[4]), to borrow a ship, and sail down the unknown coasts[5] of Helluland (Labrador), Markland (?Newfoundland), and Vinland[6] (?near Boston). His brothers, Thorwald and Thorstein, followed, in 1002 and 1005, then (though some doubt) Leif's brother-in-law, Karlsefne,[7] with Thorwald, who was shot by the dark-skinned natives, and buried on Keelness (Kialarness).[8] Leif found a wrecked crew on a skerry, and we hear of tempest-driven men[9] reaching America. Thorkell (we are told) was driven by a gale from Vinland to Ireland, and died there in slavery, while Gudlaug (c. 1015–1030), trading with Dublin, was blown westward to the unknown land, so was Bjorn Ashbrandsson,[10] who met the first of the Irish in America. In 1011 Helge and Finnboge, coming from Norway, met a certain Freydisa, and went to "Leif's booths in Vinland," while the year after the battle of Clontarf, Karlsefne brought his son Snorro, just born in Vinland, back to Iceland, where their descendants long flourished.

Ireland is again in contact with America in the saga,[11] which tells how

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[1] N. Denys in 1650 found grapes as large as nutmegs, but rather acid, growing wild. Indian rice grows wild in Nova Scotia. Fischer, *loc. cit.*, p. 98.

[2] "In Northern Mists," vol. i, p. 384. Some have gone so far as to suppose that the Norse voyaged southward along the coast of Europe, naming their landing-places Helluland, Markland, and Vinland down to Spain! This presupposes a strange ignorance in the race that wasted from the end of the eighth century all the islands and coasts of western Europe. Professor Gelcich, "Materialien," p. 104, cited by Fischer, p. vi.

[3] Reeves rejects the Bjarne story. Its hero is not named in the genealogies and topographies, or the historic Sagas—unlike Leif and his contemporaries. ("Finding of Wineland the Good.")

[4] Krisni Saga. See "In Northern Mists," vol. i, p. 384.

[5] See map of Sigurd Stephanus, an Icelander, on Plate XXI.

[6] Vinland must not be confused with Finland and Wendland.

[7] Nansen rejects the Karlsefne voyages. ("In Northern Mists." See also Geographical Journal, xxxviii, p. 557, and xxxix, p. 26.)

[8] Kialarness, so called from the keel of a wreck on its shore when first discovered—a striking statement. ("Finding of Wineland," p. 43.)

[9] We overrate the difficulty of such events. Bembo's "History of Venice," vii, p. 257, tells how a boatful of American Indians was found near England; Herrero ("Hist. Gen.," dec. i, lib. i, cap. 2). of two canoes of strangers drifted to the Azores; Wallace ("Islands of Orkney," 1700, p. 60), of a Greenlander in a canoe reaching Orkneys. See also Rev. Sabine Baring-Gould, "Curious Myths," p. 527.

[10] "Eyrbiggia Saga."

[11] Landnamabok, 81 ("Settlement of Iceland," transl. Rev. T. Ellwood).

Ari, son of Mar, "drifted over ocean to Whiteman's Land, which some call Irlanda Mikla (the Great); it lies west away in the ocean nigh to Vinland, the Good, six days' (?weeks') sail from Ireland due west." Ari, on his return, told all to "Hrafn the Hlimrek trader," so called "because he spent a long time at Limerick in Ireland." Lastly, if the story and pedigree of Karlsefne be true, the latter was descended from a daughter of Kiarval, an Irish king. How far these stories, told in Limerick and Dublin, reached the Irish is hard to say; but it is hardly possible that the accounts of the voyages did not reach the country round the Danes' seaports. No trace of Vinland occurs in Irish literature,[1] but (if only through the stockfish trade)[2] it must have come again and again to the knowledge of the Irish, and strengthened their belief till Great Ireland and other wonderful lands in the heart of the Atlantic became known to Spain and Italy. The Arabian cosmographers of the twelfth century, and the map-makers, who almost invariably showed unknown islands on their charts, from 1300 onward, passed the story down to the explorers from 1492, Columbus and his successors.

Vinland, too, was never forgotten in the North. Adam of Bremen,[3] about 1069, heard of the island of that name from Danes. The Icelandic Annals tell of Bishop Erik Upse of Greenland going "to seek Vinland" in 1121; how Adelbrand and Thorwald Helgisson found "Newland," west from Iceland, in 1285; how, three years later, King Erik sent Rolf to explore it, and, aided by Icelanders, he twice visited it (in 1289 and 1290); and lastly how seventeen men reached Markland in 1347.[4] Latest of all may be the alleged voyage of Skolno to Labrador in 1476,[5] on the eve of the voyage that once for all, in the fulness of time, opened America to the old World by the South, where the North had failed.

The stockfish trade linked Bristol and Iceland; and Bristol was close linked by trade to Dublin and Limerick; so probably, from just after the battle of Clontarf down to the very year of the voyage of Columbus, corroboration of the deep belief engendered by the tale of Brendan was never lacking to Ireland.

The features in common[6] of the Norse sagas and Irish *imrama* are few—

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[1] However, the same is true of many important events in English and Continental history, secular and religious.

[2] Hakluyt's "Voyages" (1599), vol. iii, p. 201. Nordenskiöld's "Periplus," p. 92. Weise *loc cit*, p. 193.

[3] "Descriptio insularum aquilonis." He adds, "it is not a fable." The next paragraph about the ice sea is not found in the oldest copies. (Fischer, *loc. cit.*, p. 3.)

[4] Annales Risemani (c. 1319), Icelandic Annals, Annales Vetustissimi, Flatoë Annals.

[5] "In Northern Mists," vol. ii, p. 70.

[6] I wrote these lines (indeed this copy) before hearing of Dr. Nansen's conclusions. I fully accept his views as to Isidore being a source, but think the "vine and corn" may also have a biblical origin.

the vines in Vinland, the wooded and grassy shores, and the attack of the dark-skinned natives, the "wonder strands," the sea full of maggots which attack Bjarne's hide-boats, and the adventures with whales are the chief. The Norse accounts were probably written about 1200, and are all preserved in manuscripts over a century earlier than the landing of Columbus in the West Indies.

4.—ATLANTIS AND OTHER LOST LANDS.

Though it has not been demonstrated that Plato's descriptions of Atlantis were known to the Irish, the probability is considerable.[1] Seneca's works were actually in the Library of the great Hiberno-Italian school of Bobbio,[2] while St. Gall had another famous early library to which scholars (and perhaps monastic redactors of the Brendan Saga) would most likely have resorted. This is no place to go deeply into the question as to whether Plato actually heard[3] a genuine legend of Egyptian priests from the time of Solon, and if so how an alleged historic event of B.C. 9600 could have been handed down even to the Egyptians of the early dynasties 5000 years later. The point which concerns us is the unmistakable likeness of the mythical Atlantis to the islands seen by Bran, Maelduin, and Brendan. As in "Bran," where the sea-god Mananann is father of Mongan by an Irish princess, so, in Atlantis, his equivalent, Poseidon, has ten sons by mortal mothers. Atlantis has a marvellous fort with rings of three fosses and two walls of bronze, tin, and aurichalchon or red copper; so, in the legends of Maelduin and Hui Corra, is the ring-fort with brazen rampart, palisade, and bridge over a wet fosse. Atlantis was walled all round, so are the Irish legendary isles. In both we hear of wonderful temples and altars, founts of hot and cold water, well-planted groves and a wonderful racecourse; the parallel is close indeed, whatever degree of connexion there may be between them. Atlantis is said to have lain outside the straits of Gibraltar, to have been as large as Asia (Minor) and Lybia combined, and, after overrunning all the Mediterranean shores to Tyrrhenia and Egypt, its armies were checked by Athens; eventually it sank in a day and a night during an earthquake, and was entirely submerged by the sea, leaving dangerous shoals.[4] The resemblances between Lucian's "True History" and

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[1] Professor Zimmer. The results are questioned by Alfred Nutt ("Voyage of Bran," i, p. 128).

[2] Judge Madden, "Early History of Classical Learning in Ireland," pp. 9, 10.

[3] He may have invented it for purposes of discussion (if not of satire, like Swift). So late as 1755 a political tract was published in Ireland entitled "A Voyage to O Brazeel, a submarine island lying west off the coast of Ireland" (see "Ulster Miscellany.")

[4] Plato, "Timaeus," vi, and "Critias," iii, viii–xv. For scientific support of story, see Dr. Robert Scharff's paper, Proc. R. I. Acad., xxiv (B), p. 268. Also "The Lost Atlantis."

the Irish tales are most striking. Islands high and woody, abounding in vines, apples, fruits, and gorgeous flowers, perfumes and melodious birds; a frozen sea, rivers of fire, wine, and milk; religious rites on a whale's back; an island with the yells of men in torment and sulphurous air, hound-headed men; and the Island of the Blessed where it is always spring and none grows old, occur in the Samosatan tales, as they do in the Irish; even the brazen fort has an equivalent in the brazen monument to Bacchus and Hercules, and the wonderful racecourse is not forgotten.

Doubtless Seneca[1] alludes to Atlantis in the *Medea*: "In later years a time shall come when ocean shall relax its chains and a vast continent be disclosed. A [new] Tiphys shall find new worlds, and Thule shall no longer be earth's bounds."

"Venient annis
Saecula seris, quibus oceanus
Vincula rerum laxet et ingens
Pateat tellus—Typhisque novos
Detegat orbes nec sit terris
Ultima Thule."

It is pleasant to recall that the "Tiphys" of this prophecy, Columbus, knew and was encouraged by the verse to fulfil it over fourteen centuries after.[2]

Lastly, Plutarch placed the Isle of Ogygia five days' sail westward from Britain, and told of a great continent beyond the ocean.

The Atlantis legend reached the Arabian geographers[3] along with the Irish and Norse tales. The great cosmographer, Abdulleh Mohammed Edrisi, about 1150, knew of "Great Ireland,"[4] besides the real Birlanda or Irlanda, Anglit or Angiltara, and Reslanda, Islanda or Iceland. He also marked the "Isle of Birds" and the "Isle of Sheep." Through them the names of the islands became known to the Spaniards and Portuguese of the later centuries. The Arabs were believed to have crossed the Atlantic; and the Observatory of Sagres, under the influence of Prince Henry the Navigator, collected

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[1] *Medea.* Seneca elsewhere quotes a poem (*circa* A.D. 16) on the Northern Sea with its darkness, sluggish waves, savage whales, and sea-dogs. The monsters embody the danger and terror of the sea.

[2] Ferdinand Columbus, chapter vii, ed. Nienhoff's "Voyages," 1703, vol. ii, p. 566.

[3] See "Life of Brandon," T. Wright, Introd., p. v. Edrisi gives seven "empty" islands to west of Ireland—Gazirat Birlanda, Gazirat Angiltara, Gazirat Squosia (Scotta), and Gazirat Islanda. He also mentions Gals or Wales, and how Ptolemy tells of 27,000 islands in the ocean. Edrisi names the isle of female demons, of sheep, of birds, Gazirat Khusran (the Isle of Illusion) and "Shasland" (see "Northern Mists," vol. i, p. 200, chap. xiii).

[4] The maps placed Great Ireland between the south of Ireland and Guinea. The Norse in 1570 fancied that Vinland extended nearly to Africa ("Finding of Wineland the Good," pp. 14–16).

all records of voyages,[1] with the result that Madeira was rediscovered (or discovered if the alleged Bristol settler be mythic), and the voyages commenced which at last doubled the Cape of Good Hope.

The nearest neighbours of the early Irish were not without similar beliefs. The Britons believed in the elusive Isle of Avalon, Avilion, or Ynys yr Afallon. Some have derived it from Avalloc, god of death; but from the apples of Eden

1. KHALIA. (Empty Isles). 6. GAZÎRAT ANGILTÂRA.
2. FIRST PART OF 7TH CLIMATE. 7. GAZÎRAT SQUÔSIA.
3. GHAZÎRAT BIRLÂNDA. 8. AL-BAHR AL MUSLIM ASH-SHAMALI.
4. KHARÂB. (Desert). 9. GAZÎRÂT ISLÂNDA.
5. CALS OR VALS (Wales). 10. GAZÎRAT DÂNÂMARKHA.

and the Hesperides to those of the Edda legend and the Isles in the Irish Tales the apple has been symbolic, and the name is probably merely the "Apple Island."[2] It was also the Isle of Glass, Isle de Voirre, and so confused with Glastonbury, "urbs vitrae"[3]; one recalls the currach of glass in the story of Connla, the bridge of glass in "Maelduin," and the great crystal tower (or iceberg) with fringes of crystal.

The Welsh, too, had their great lost land sunk by a drunken, careless prince. There was also the lost land of Lyoness, or Lennoys, of which the Scilly Isles are said to be the last remnants. Florence of Worcester (died 1118) tells of its flourishing condition and how it sank, like Atlantis, beneath the waves. It, like Avalon, was never placed on the early maps, and there is no evidence that it affected either the Irish or Iberian beliefs, though it secured a place in English literature through Tennyson and Swinburne. The voyage of Madoc, son of Owen Gwynned, about 1170, though told of a historic prince of North Wales, has not hitherto been shown to be earlier than the version of Humphrey Lloyd (about 1560), published twenty-four years later in Powell's "Historie of Cambria,"[4] and did not affect other countries. "If you

[1] Abbé Raynal, "History of Settlement, &c., of Europeans": Major's "Life of Prince Henry the Navigator."

[2] Rendered "Insula Pomorum" in Vita Merlini.

[3] Vita St. Gildae, twelfth century.

[4] Hakluyt's "Voyages," vol. iii. pub. 1600, p. 1, gives the tale of Madoc. Meredith ap Rhys, a bard who died in 1477, told part of Madoc's Voyage, which makes the tale pre-Columbian.

cut a sod on St. David's Head and stood upon it you could see the Islands of the Blessed."[1] Scotland, too, had her "Flaith Inis," which was surrounded by clouds and tempests, with an island, "Caerecennfinn," between Scotland and Ireland, where the Irish of Ulster placed their "Tir Hudi." The Bretons had their submerged city of Is; the French and Portuguese told of the mythic Isles of Maida, Asmaida, or Asmanda and Isle Verte, or Ilha Verde, suggesting the *Inis Glas* of other legends. The Spaniards had their tale of Antilia[2] and the Isle of the Seven Cities of the Gothic kings and bishops who fled from the Moors to them in 714,[3] while Ireland, England, France, Portugal, and Spain agreed in believing that outside human trade, rarely within the limits of sight, lay Brasil and St. Brendan's Isle, the Fortunate Islands, the Isle of Birds, and the Isle of Sheep. There was an imaginary island, Mam, and further north, Bund, Frishlant, or Friseland, Estland, Daithuli, Drogeo, and Estotiland.[4] Nicholas Zeno (men afterwards told) had, about 1380, been wrecked on Frisland and saved by its chief, Zichmi; and he and his brother had visited Estotiland (Labrador ?), Estland, and Drogeo. It is far from improbable that the published copy of the Zeni map, "rotten with age," and the description were the results of misunderstanding notes about Scotland (Escotiland), Greenland, and Iceland (Eslanda). But the Icelanders in 1570 regarded Frisland as a large island separate from their own.[5] A possible confusion among storms, mists, and icebergs led the "buss" of Emanuel Frobisher's fleet in 1578 to report an unknown island thereafter shown as "Buss" till the eighteenth century. Two maps, one by Ruysch, in 1508, mark an island to the west of Iceland with the words "Insula hec in Anno Dñi 1456 fuit totaliter cōbusta."[6] It is curious that the Sagas tell of

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[1] "Chambers's Journal," No. 76, vol. ii, June, 1885, p. 371.

[2] Derived from Aristotle's note of the discovery of the Atlantic Island by Carthage. Coins of the great city have been found in Corvo.

[3] Under Don Rodrigo, the last Gothic King of Spain, and King Sebastian after the battle of Alcazar. Nordenskiöld ("Facsimile Atlas") gives Ruysch, 1508 (No. xxxii), with a long note on Antilia, King Roderigo, and the Bishops. Legend said that a Portuguese crew had reached Antilia and attended the Mass; the sand of the island was one-third golden. It was 2,500 miles from Cipango.

[4] For all these fanciful islands I rely much on A. E. Nordenskiöld's magnificent series of reproductions of early maps in his "Facsimile Atlas" and "Periplus," and Jomard's "Monuments."

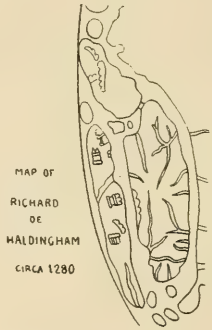
[5] "Frisland" is shown not far from the north-west coast of Ireland in the map of Domingo Olivez, 1568 (Nordenskiöld's "Periplus," map xxix). Columbus identified it with Ptolemy's Thule, which Marinus places in 63° north latitude if (but the matter seems taken from a later writer than his son) the passage in the account of Ferdinand Columbus be genuine.

[6] A. E. Nordenskiöld's "Facsimile Atlas," No. xxxii, and his "Periplus" (Transl. A. Bather, Stockholm, 1897), p. 92. The island is shown with the same note on maps of Cantino, 1502, and Ruysch, 1508; as also in the Sigurd maps showing Vinland, &c., 1570. See also in the Olaus Magnus map, 1557. Also Nansen's "In Northern Mists," vol. ii, pp. 122, 123, "Mons excelsus VVitzare," a resort of pirates; and Gourmont's map of 1584.

an island, "Hvitserk," between Iceland and Greenland, and in sight of both.[1] As for Buss, the latest of the host of imaginary lands, Thomas Wiars says that it lay E.S.E. and fifty leagues from the S.E. point of Frisland, in latitude 57°. It had two harbours four and seven leagues north from the southern point and much ice round it; they left it on September 12th, and reached Galway on the 25th. Certainly, if circumstantial assertion can prove the reality of non-existent isles, Frisland and Buss deserved their place on the maps of nearly three centuries.[2]

5.—THE MYTHICAL ISLANDS IN EARLY MAPS.

Interest in the islands of the Atlantic hardly existed before the twelfth century among the map-makers.[3] The "Life of St. Brendan" had been spreading over the Continent for over a century before it began to affect the



Maps without "Brasil" Island.

maps, as Edrisi had been affected nearly two centuries earlier. Apart from his works, there is no certain trace in the other maps of the imaginary isles (so far as I know) till the portolanos of Dulcert,[4] in 1325 to 1339.[5] These

[1] Hakluyt's "Voyages" (1599 ed.), vol. iii, p. 44.

[2] Their features are elaborately named, which has never occurred in the representations of St. Brendan's Isle, Brasil, Daithuli, or Asmaidas.

[3] In the very curious map of 1119, in the Liber Guidonis (Burgundian Library, Brussels), even Britain, Ireland, and Thule are omitted.

[4] The Dulcerts, or Dalaortos, were Genoese; see Konrad Kretscher, "Die Entdeckung Amerikas," &c. (Berlin, 1892); also, Nansen, "In Northern Mists," vol. ii, p. 226. The maps are dated 1325, 1329, and 1339. A map (closely similar, but drawn in Modena), of about 1350, gives "Illa de brezill." For Kretscher's note on Brazill, see *loc. cit.*, p. 214. The mythic island is pronounced with the accent on the first syllable, unlike its continental equivalent.

[5] See Plate XX. The early Anglo-Saxon map gives an unnamed large island to S.W. of Ireland.

charts, founded on experience and, as their name implied, showing the route from port to port, avoided the conventional, and strove to draw information from every source. Nothing can mark the line between the scholar's map of the world and the merchant's chart better than the contrast between the great map of Richard of Haldingham, about 1280, and Angelino Dulcert's work. The latter gives in the 1325 map "Insula de montoniis sive de brazill," and in the Catalan portolano, 1339 (Periplus viii),[1] "Insula de Berzil," to the west of the Shannon's mouth, and the "Insil diculy,"[2] to the north-west of Ireland (Per. viii). The "Charta navigationis" called "Portolano Laurenziano Gaddiano seu Atlante Medicaeo" follows the last in giving "Insul de Berzi" and "Insil dach" in similar positions (Per. x). The island corresponding to Brazil is also found in the Venetian map of 1367 and the far superior Catalan map[3] of 1373 (Per. xi), which marks a large circular island "Insula Berzil," in the same place, west from the Shannon,[4] as also St. Brendan's Isle and Mam (the later Maida or Asmanda) to the south of Brazil. It will be remembered that the compass was apparently known in the thirteenth century to Roger Bacon, and later to Dante's tutor, Brunetto Latini; but the latter says that sailors would not have it on board, regarding it as "an infernal spirit."[5] It only became popular about 1360, so that its use, the making of the early maps, and the "appearance" of Brasil, all seem to be contemporaneous. The Solerio map of 1385 is even more interesting, for it marks two Brasils, the "Insula de berzil" to the west of Ireland and "Brazir" in a group of islands off the coast of Spain, the latter being evidently the mountain of Brazil in Terceiro, though the Azores are quite misplaced here (Periplus xvii).

FIFTEENTH CENTURY.—The I. de Brazi is shown among the Azores, and a nameless isle, the mythic "Brazil," to the west of Ireland in the Venetian map of Andrea Bianco in 1436 (Per. xx).[6] Another chart as early, or earlier,

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[1] For simplicity of reference, I only refer to Nordenskiöld's Facsimile Atlas (Fac.) and Periplus (Per.), even when the maps occurring in them have been reproduced in other accessible works.

[2] An island, "Artetum," occupies its place on Haldingham's map, 1280. Captain Thomas (Proc. Soc. Antiqq., Scotland, 1875, vol. x, p. 706) regards Daculi as Sanchule or St. Kilda. I venture to suggest (from it being always shown so close to Ireland, and from St. Kilda being out of the old trading tracks) that it is "Trahuli," or Inistrahull, off Donegal, if not Rockall (Rokol or Rockell in maps from 1697 to 1715).

[3] Not the earlier one given on Plate XX, which also shows the Island.

[4] Brasil is usually shown to the west of North Kerry (from Tralee to the Shannon); much has been made of its variable position; but this mobility it shares with real islands, like Japan, Ceylon, and Madagascar, on the maps of the same period; indeed, Ireland itself is often misplaced.

[5] Much is collected by Nordenskiöld; Periplus, p. 47; Weise, "Discovery of America," pp. 61, 62; and others, on this important question.

[6] He also gives an unknown island, "Scorafixa" (perhaps Stockfixa or Stockfish), supposed by some to be Newfoundland. The word "Baccalaos," used in later days, is said to hvae the same meaning.

at Upsala (Per. xix), shows the large round "Y. de Berzil," opposite the Blaskets, and a nameless island (Asmanda) to the south of it. Bianco also marks "Antilia" and the "Y. de la Man" (Per. xx). The islands reappear, I believe, without names, in the planisphere of Johannes Leardus, 1448 (along with nameless isles in the position of Brazil and Asmaidas); while Gratiosus Benincasa marks Daithuli, Isolo de Bracill, and "Isle dita Mate" as lying round Ireland (Per. xxxiii and p. 61) in 1467. One of the finest maps before Columbus, that of Fra Mauro (there is a full-sized facsimile in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin), in 1459,[1] identified Brasil with the Fortunate Islands, "I. del Berzel, anesta isola de hibernia, son dite Fortunata," marking it due west from the Dingle Peninsula. Mauro was known as the "Cosmographus incomparabilis"; he was a Venetian friar, and a medal was struck in his honour. In 1482–6 the "Ptolemaeus Ulmae" (Fac. xxix) maps[2] give the Fortunate Isles, and what is possibly the first printed allusion to St. Brendan, "Brandianus magnae abstinentiae vir de Scocia"; the map is also interesting for marking *Atlanticum*, an island off the African coast. To this century belongs a Catalan compass chart, given by Nordenskiöld (Plate V); it marks Ylle de brazill a double island and (twice as far from Irlanda as it) another Brazill to the west of it, Illa Verde, and still further to the north, "Fixland," apparently Iceland.[3] In 1490 the "Ptolemaeus," published at Rome (Fac. iii), marks Deorum Insule off North Portugal. In the very year when Columbus first reached the islands of America, Martin Behaim (or Bohemus) of Nürnburg made his famous globe. It shows Brasil and St. Brendan's Isle, the latter half-way between Ireland and Japan (Cipango), in 1492. In 1481 he had come to Portugal and worked under the patronage of John II. He returned home in ten years, but again visited Lisbon, where he died in 1506.

If interest in geography was getting so keen and bearing fruit in the Portuguese expeditions down the coast of Africa, and the Spanish ones to the West Indies, it might be expected that it grew keener than ever after the great turning-point in history of that year, when "Columbus gave a New World to Castile and Leon." Two names passed from mythic and half-mythic islands; "Brazil" and "Antilia" attached themselves to actual countries; but though Antilia passed from the map of the Old World, Brazil still held its own off the Irish coast, though its name had been transferred to the land of the giant river and forests, greater and more beautiful than bard or monk

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[1] Given on Plate XX.
[2] By Leonard Hol; it was offered by Nicholas Germain to Pope Paul II.
[3] Plate XX.

had fancied in wildest romance. I believe "Priscilia" first attaches to the modern Brazil in Reisch's *Margarita Philosophiae* in 1515.

England, having so narrowly lost her chance of being patron to Columbus, was now taking her place among the world-explorers. In August, 1497, the minister of the Duke of Milan wrote to his master from England to say that Cabot had found two large and fertile islands, San Juan and Prima Vista, and had found the "Seven Cities," 400 leagues from England. Eleven months later the Spanish Ambassador in London wrote to Ferdinand and Isabella, telling of Cabot's discoveries and second expedition, and telling how "the men of Bristol have, for the last seven years" (since 1492), "sent every year, two, three, or four caravels to search for the Isle of Brazil and the Seven Cities."[1] Next year, 1499, the real Brazil was discovered. Nevertheless, Conte Freducci's Map in 1497 (Per. xxii) marked the large circular indented Brasil, and in 1499 to 1500, Juan de la Cosa on his fine coloured map marked it and Daithuli; he also distinguished Eshlanda (Iceland) from Illatille (Thule) in the northern seas (Per. xxii and xliii).

SIXTEENTH CENTURY.—The increasing traffic with America might have been supposed to have swept all the mythic isles into the "Never-Never Land," whence they had come; but this was not the case; and we must see how for some three centuries the islands held their own, while, perhaps, the earliest and latest of the group, Brasil and Buss, were found on maps till past the middle of the nineteenth century. I need only give the principal maps onward to the eighteenth century.

In 1508 the Ruysch "Ptolemaeus" (Fac. xxxii), published at Rome, shows Antilia half-way between the Azores and Terra Nova (South America), also an island (probably Huitserk), about where Frisland is shown on later maps, with the note, "Insula hec in Año Dni. 1456 fuit totaliter cōbusta." It is interesting to find it and two islands near Terceira sinking into the sea by volcanic action in such a late period. Subsequent research may also reveal similar causes for belief in lost islands; but this is a question for science alone. Glareanus (Per. p. 173), in 1510, shows a large island (evidently Asmaida) to the south-west of Ireland. The Argentine "Ptolemaeus" map in 1513 (Fac. xxxv) marks Daithuli to the north-west of Ireland, Obrassell to the west, and Salnaga to the north of Ireland[2]; Almeidas further away to the south-west. In 1524 the Argentorati "Ptolemaeus" (Per. p. 177) shows Brazil and Asmaidas in their usual chart position, but it omits Ireland.

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[1] Calendar of Spanish State Papers, vol. i, p. 177; and Calendar of Italian Papers (1864), vol. ii, p. 262.

[2] Plate XX gives one of the 1,513 maps with Brazil and Dathuli. Most of the place-names are omitted in this copy.

Diego Ribero (Per. xlviii), in 1529, again shows Brasil opposite to the Brasscher (Blaskets) off Kerry. Gerard Mercator, in 1538, shows the "Insula Septem Civitatum," and, between the appearance of his map and 1542, Alonzo de Santa Cruz (in a Map of the World[1] "in gussets," ready to be used on a globe), gives (Plate II) Yslanda, Debrasil, and Asmaidas. An alleged Cabot map, dated 1544, marks San brandon, noting that it was discovered in 1494 (xciiii, recte xcvii, 1497), off Cape Breton. A beautiful coloured map of Georgio Calapoda, in 1552 (Per. xxvi), shows Y. de brasill among the Anglie insulae as a large, red indented circle, and Y. de Mam (Asmaidas) as a crescent. These forms occur in the Benincasas map, 1467, and perhaps prove a connexion; in the same way the conventional forms of Ireland fall into three types. Brazil appears in the Map of the World in a pretty little illuminated Atlas of Baptist Agnesi, a Genoan, in 1544, but not in his valuable map of Ireland.[2] In 1554 both Bresil insul and Las maydas are given in their usual position (Per., p. 147).

In 1558 the very remarkable, though mythical, Zeni map was published in Venice. It probably (as we noted) arose from obscure descriptions and a faded sketch-map; but hence Milton's "cold Estotiland" (possibly Escotiland, Scotland), Frisland, Estland (probably derived irom Iceland and part of Greenland), and Drogeo seem to originate.[3] Gastaldi's map in 1562, and Lafreri's in 1566 (Fac., p. 129), may be noted. The latter shows Brasil and Maida to the east of Labrador, and far nearer to it than to Ireland the Isle of Demons also appears on the American coast. In 1568 Domingo Olives (Per. xxix) shows Illa de brasill a double island to the south-west, and Frixland, a large isle to the north-west of Ireland. Mercator, in 1569 (1587 and 1595), gives Frisland to the south-west of Iceland, and in 1569 Brasil and Maida (Fac. xlvii and p. 95).[4] Other very interesting maps were made in 1570 by an Icelander, Sigurdus Stephanii.[5] They give Norway; the mythic giant-land, Iötunheimar; Riseland; Gronlandia, a deep bay, and then Helleland, Marchland, Skraelingland, and the Promontorium Vinlandia, opposite to Ireland. The latter and England lie almost in mid-ocean, and above them are the

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[1] A fine facsimile, by E. W. Dahlgren, Stockholm, is dedicated to Baron Erik Nordenskiöld, in 1892.

[2] Ms. T.C.D., K. 3. 15; on the front page is "Leonardi Marinorii est liber iste de Ancona, 1544." The map is not included in Nordenskiöld's list of twelve maps by Agnesi, 1529–1562.

[3] "Voyages of the Brothers Zeni." Fred. W. Lucas, 1898.

Hakluyt includes the Zeno story in his Voyages, vol. ii, p. 121 (ed. 1599). Had we untouched originals, a more certain conclusion could be arrived at. No doubt "voyages" and maps were very jealously guarded in archives; and publicity was the thing least desired by the mariners of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. "Stillandia" (Iceland) on the 1552 map reads like "Frislandia."

[4] See Plate XXII.

[5] Engraved in "Gronlandia Antiqua" by Thomod Torfaeus, 1715, Copenhagen, and reproduced in Weise. "Discovery of America," 1884, p. 22. An outline is given on Plate XXII.

Orcades, Hetland (Hialtlant, Shetland), Feröe, "Frisland," and "Island." The last two are never confused in these maps.[1] I cannot believe that so mythical a sketch-map can give any real clue to the position of Vinland, discovered over five and a half centuries earlier. Abraham Ortelius[2] in his "Theatrum Orbis Terrarum," in the same year, gives Brasil, west from Connacht, and St. Brandon, west from the last, also Friesland and Island. Mercator, in 1587 (Fac. xlvii), gives Maida, S. Brandani, and Bresil to the west of Kerry, while Petrus Martyr, at Paris (Fac., p. 131), has Frisland and St. Brandan's Isle, the latter in mid-ocean. Cornelius Wyfliet, "Descriptionis Ptolemaicae Augmentum," Louvain, 1597 (Fac. li), while giving a small map of Estotiland (Labrador) and Greenland, omits all the mythic isles. The "invention" of such had not ceased, for, in 1598 and 1599, Hakluyt gives Iceland, with Frisland, half way between it and Estotiland. Not content with this, he collects a circumstantial report of the finding of Buss, the latest mythic island of the North Atlantic, and which (with Brasil, the earliest to find place on the maps) held its own down to very recent times.

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.—The most interesting section of the map-history of Brasil and its sister isles ends with the sixteenth century. A few instances may be given to show the continuity of the belief. In 1608 Mathias Quadus of Cologne published a Map of the World (Fac. xlix), a fine work, but showing St. Brandon's Isle as large as Ulster, half-way between Hibernia and Baccalaos (in North America), also Drogio and Frischlant.[3] About 1655 a Dutch map shows a large island at Rockall, perhaps Buss, and Brasil in about the position of the Porcupine Bank. Jacob Aertz Colom, 1668, only gives Frisland, while the 1661 map of John Jannsson of Amsterdam gives only the west side of Buss and an islet near it. There is also a large map of Buss, without date, by John Seller, Hidrographer to the King; it is easily recognized by the figures of two walruses to the north-east of the island. In 1680 the English Atlas of Moses Pitt gives Brasil and Maida; the former, to the south-west of Ireland and due west from the Land's End, is once more large, while Freesland is nearly as large as England, and lies between it and Greenland. Buss and its islet also appear.

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[1] For them see also Nieuhoff's "Voyages" (1703), vol. ii, p. 445; and map of 1644, by La Pagrere, shows Frisland far to south-west of Iceland, off Greenland. Also Hakluyt's "Voyages," 1599, vol. ii, p. 33; Voyage of Martin Frobisher, 1577. Frisland was surrounded by ice, and had high mountains and no habitations. In 1578 it was "very hie and craggy, and almost covered with snow, great yles of ice being on the sea like mountains, and very foggy," p. 40. It was probably part of Greenland, not Iceland, as some suppose.

[2] Ortels, born in Antwerp, 1527, where he died 1598. He was Geographus Regius to Philip II of Spain.

[3] The latter maps are chiefly from the series in Trinity College Library, Dublin, especially in the Fagel Library.

Eighteenth Century.—So far as I know, Estotiland, St. Brandon's Isle, and Antilia do not appear in any map after 1700; Brazill, Buss, and Maida survived. Guillaume Delisme, in his Map of the British Isles in 1702 (published in his Atlas, 1714 and 1720), and his Map of Europe, 1724, gives the Isle de Bus, Frislande, and the Roche (Rocher) de Bresil. The latter is on the first meridian from Ferro. It is thus noted in 1702:—"In this parallel 51° latitude and 1° longitude several sea-charts represent an isle to which they give the name of Brasil at 46½° of latitude and 356°, or about, of longitude; another which they call Asmanda. I do not know on what foundation these two isles have been placed; but I have difficulty in persuading myself that there are isles so short a distance from our coasts which have remained unknown to us up to this." The note is repeated in "Le Nouveau Théâtre du Monde" by Guendeville in 1713. Two years later Louis Renard[1] shows Brazil (west from Kerry) and Buss. Maida appears in the Maritime Atlas of 1749, and in Faden's Atlas of 1776, where Mayda Island is laid down as in longitude 20° west and Green Island or Ilha Verde in longitude 24°, while O Brazil is in Jeffrey's American Atlas in the same year in longitude 17° 35′ west, and lying west from Cape Clear. St. Brendan's Isle is also given. Buss was only eliminated in 1850. Brazil was finally removed from the charts so late as 1865. John Purdy's general chart of the Atlantic (corrected to 1830) says that the Brazil Rock was high and was fixed at 51° 10′ north, and 15° 30′ west. In a chart of currents in A. Findlay's edition of "Purdy," and in the "Memoir, Description, and Explanation of the North Atlantic Ocean" (p. 487) we read "Brasil Rock, lat. 51° 10′, long. 16°. M. Bellin in 1742 states that this rock is marked in lat. 51° 10′, long. 19° 30′ Paris." Its existence has been doubted by Messrs. Verdun and Border. "It was, however, seen in the year 1791 by the company and master of an English merchant ship, the commander of which favoured the editor of the present work with a description of it, stating that it is really a high rock, or islet, apparently bold-to, and to which he passed so near that he could have cast a biscuit on shore." "We suspect that if it exists it is more to the westward." Findlay's doubts increased, and he eliminated Brazil finally in 1865, after it had held its place for over 550 years on the maps. A rock of little literary interest named Aitkens Rock to the north-west of Ireland was found to be a submarine bank; the Porcupine Bank, and the bottom round Rockall give evidence of submergence by abundant shallow-water shells. Local histories assert that the Channel Isles were connected with France up to 709, and that when St. Lo visited Jersey on inspection in 565 he could cross

[1] Atlas de la Navigation et du Commerce.

into it by a plank. It is supposed by some that the shore at Cotentin sank, so that the sea easily ate away the low land for 12 to 15 miles between it and theislands as at present. Inis Fitae in Corcovaskin, now Iniscaeragh or Mutton Island, was split into three (Inismatal, Iniscaerach, and Seal Rock) between 799 and 802. The Godwin Sands, the coasts of Norfolk and Suffolk, where villages and eleven churches have been swallowed by the sea in a few centuries, and in our own time the rapid cutting away of the land at Ardmore, Co. Waterford, show how without any vast cataclysm, save in the case of Inis Fitae, islands may become shoals. The only question is whether the land sank in sufficiently late times to have affected tradition. Two cases between Terceira and St. Michael were upheaved in modern times. A volcano rose over the sea 15 leagues to the north-west of St. Michael in 1719, and sank in 1723. It was said to have previously appeared in 1638. In 1720 another island rose about a mile from the shore of St. Michael; and in the same year a third was upheaved, twenty-eight leagues away toward Terceira. It was two leagues across, and when it sank was long traceable as a shoal. The question therefore should be scientifically investigated very fully before the possible upheaval and submergence of islands, especially near such a volcanic region as Iceland, can be denied, still more so before the disappearance of Kilstuithin or Manister Ladra can be relegated to myth. To sum up, the mythic islands (so far as I am aware, for the finding of other early maps may move back the dates) appear from at least the following years. The "Fortunatarum Insulae" appear on the eighth-century map of Beatus (Periplus, p. 11); 1325, Brasile and Daithuli; 1373, St. Brendan's Isle, and Mam; Mam (as I believe), Mate, 1448, or Manda (Asmaida), the latter is named first in 1513. The Fortunate Isles are identified with Brazil, 1459. Antilla appears *ante* 1420; the Seven Cities, 1450; a nameless island corresponding to Frisland, 1508. Almeidas is first named in 1513; Frisland before 1500; Estotiland, Drogeo, and Estland in 1558 on the Zeni map, alleged to be copied from one of 1390; and Buss, in 1599.

6.—COLUMBUS AND THE MYTHIC ISLANDS.

This is no place for any elaborate study of the most interesting question relating to the mythic islands, namely, how far the belief in them affected the discovery of Columbus. A few notes must suffice. It will be remembered that Christopher Columbus based his great enterprise on three errors—the extension of Asia so far eastward as to reach within a comparatively short distance from the west of Europe; the inaccurately small circumference of the world; and the existence of large islands in mid-ocean. The maps of two centuries and the traditions known to him bore out the last item. The

Spaniards so firmly in the Isle of the Seven Cities that they actually inserted a clause in the Treaty of Evora with Portugal, reserving "the islands which had not been found," and the people of the Canaries also petitioned to be allowed to annex it. Columbus,[1] as his son Ferdinand records,[2] knew of Seneca's future continent and of Aristotle's "Antilia." This almost certainly implies knowledge of the Atlantis legend. He gathered all he could learn of these and of St. Brendan's Isle, and the Seven Cities. He had heard of Antonio Leone (or Leme) reaching an island 100 leagues west from Madeira, of two floating islands, more to the south-west, mentioned by Juventius Fortunatus, and of a Madeiran asking for a caravel in which to seek for Antilia. Peter Velasques, a pilot, told Columbus at La Rabida how in the time of Prince Henry, his Master (born 1394, died 1460), James de Fine, going from Fayal to Cape Clear, in Ireland,[3] about 1450, got under shelter of an unknown isle to the west of Ireland. Peter Velasques, of Galicia, confirmed this of his own knowledge, and Columbus had a letter of Vincent Dea, a Portuguese, telling how he had seen an island beyond Madeira. The great explorer went northward, heard what the Bristol merchants (interrogaide seekers for Brasil) had to tell, and in February, 1477, sailed 100 leagues beyond Thile (Iceland). There, if the passage be not an interpolation, he may well have seen manuscripts[4] such as exist, dated fifty to seventy years before his visit, telling, in matter-of-fact words, of Greenland, Helluland,[5] Markland, and Vinland (the last "stretching towards Africa"), with wide channels between, and manuals are often more convincing than folios. He was in touch with Galway, the centre of Irish lore of Hy Brasil, for he included among his sailors in 1492 William Irez, of Galway, in Ireland.[6] He cites religious legends for accounts of the wonderful birds and plants of the ocean islands. He fully expected to meet such islands on his way to Cipango, Cathay, and the Indies: what he did not expect was to be walled off from

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[1] For what follows see the Diary of Columbus, 9th Aug., 1492 (I use Nieuhoff's edition of his "Voyages" [illegible] 1703, vol. ii, chap. ix.); Notes of Ferdinand Columbus in Pinkerton, "Voyages" (ed. 1819), vol. ii, p. 77; Memorials of Columbus (Trenfel & Wurtz, 1823, p. xx, Introd.); Hakluyt's "Voyages"; Weise's "Discovery of America"; and many other works.

[2] If the work be not a forgery, it seems at least to show interpolation. Harrisse shows that it dates after 1497; Ferdinand died 1539. The part relating to Tile and Frisianda may be taken from La [illegible] from some source used by him. See also Lucas (Voyages of the Brothers Zeni, 1898, p. 34). No Spanish original of Ferdinand's work is known, only an Italian "translation" at Venice, published 1571.

[3] [illegible] in Ptolemy's map, 1539; Cano de Clara, in the Catalan Atlas, 1375; Clara in the Upsal map, 1450, and Agnesi, 1544.

[4] [illegible] interesting little works, from 1400 to after 1430, are published by Reeves in "The Finding of Wineland the Good," pp. 13–16.

[5] The Frissbók (Codex, Frisianus, c. 1420–30, col. 136, p. 34) says "there is an open sea flowing [illegible] Vinland [illegible]" (Reeves, p. 14).

[6] "Guliermo Ires natural de Galuy en Irlanda."

Asia by a vast continent. The belief in the islands must have been of the first importance to encourage him and his men on their daring voyage when they burst into the silent sea.

7.—THE MYTHIC ISLANDS OF IRELAND.

Turning from the wider aspects and interest of the subject, it remains for us to record what is believed in Ireland about the shadowy isles of bliss. Brasil we have found constantly in the belief of all south-western Europe the other islands belong to Irish lore alone. So unhesitatingly did the Irish give them a local habitation that they can be placed on the maps as definitely as any real islands.[1] When we examine the sea-bed, we see that it is not impossible (save Brasil and the land between Teelin and the Stags of Broadhaven) that islands may have existed within traditional memory at all the alleged sites. Going northward up the coast the mythic isles are—Cantillon's Rocks, off Ballyheige; Kilstapheen, near Loop Head; Kilstapheen, or Kilstuithin, in Liscannor Bay; the island off Skerd Rocks, in Galway Bay; the actual Inish Bofin; Imaire Buidhe bank; Monaster Ladra (or Letteragh), off Annagh Point, in the Mullet, Co. Mayo; the Sunken Land, between Counties Mayo and Donegal; and the doubtful Tir Hud, to the north of the latter. Brasil is of a different class, and must be reserved for separate study

BALLYHEIGE, CO. KERRY.—One of the most beautiful views (where all are beautiful) on the Kerry coast is that over the site of the alleged island to the vast rugged peaks of Corcaguiny, culminating in the great peak of Brandon, that recalls the legendary voyage of its saintly hermit into the isles of the outer sea. Outside the golden rim of sandhills and the silver crescents of surf (the "sea-horses" of Bran's dream before his bold voyage) lie certain dangerous reefs just below the surface. In the adjoining parish the ancient family of Cantillon dwelt from the reign of Henry III,[2] and popular belief connected them (or, in a variant, the MacElligots)[3] with the rocks. The version of Crofton Croker only varies in embroidery from what I have heard in south-west Clare and in Kerry. It runs thus:—An early Cantillon won and married a sea-maiden (the princess, Durfulla, "Leaping Water," says Croker); such love has always an ill-starred fate. She died young, and was buried in an island, on which was a little church, for, like Undine, her mortal love had to be paid for at a great price. Her royal father ordered his subject waves to cut the roots of the island, and whelm it "beneath the grey and

[1] See Plate XXII.

[2] I have gone at some length into their history and that of Ballyheige in a paper on the promontory forts of North Kerry; *Journal*, Roy. Soc. Antt., Ir., vol. xl, pp. 119-123.

[3] Dr. C. Smith's "History of Kerry," p. 210 (230 in later edition).

endless deep," and when this was done he enjoined on the mer-folk to bear from the shore the remains of her descendants for burial. Thenceforth the coffins of the Cantillons were borne to the limits at low water, the human mourners departed, and left the obsequies to the mermen. The task was to end when human eye saw the sea-folk and human ear heard their dirge. At last, late in the eighteenth century, a too curious Clare man hid behind a rock, and saw and heard all. The "merrows" crowded round him, rejoicing that their duty to mortal dust was ended, and bore off the coffin for the last time. No other Cantillon was removed, and landward burial-places had to be adopted.[1] The "Church Bank" is 1½ fathoms under low water.

Kilstapheen, Loop Head, Co. Clare.—The Rev. John Graham, of Kilrush, in 1816, told of an ancient city, south from Loop Head, overwhelmed by an irruption of the sea long ago. The towers and splendid edifices were sometimes seen beneath the waves by those sailing over them. It was peopled by the enchanted inhabitants, who raised destructive storms over it while the waters were calm elsewhere. Graham heard it from the Behanes, Lauder, of Kilrush, and the Contis and Coonerties, of Carrigaholt. Eugene O'Curry confirms this in 1839, but gives no details. I did not hear it at Carrigaholt, Doonaha, Moveens, or Kilkee, where I collected most folk-lore in the Irrus of Corcavaskin. There is, however, a tourist legend about it probably derived by some guide-book from the Halls.[2] It is 4 fathoms deep on the shoal.

Kilstuithin, Liscannor, Co. Clare.—This is a dangerous reef on which the sea boils and spouts high sheets of foam; it is reputed to be the site of a lost church and city, but no Saint Stuithin or Stuiffin is known. Eugene O'Curry's identification with St. Sciothin's Island, off Co. Louth, and Canon Dwyer's note on "St. Scioth," are inaccurate and unfounded.[3] Some have connected its sinking with the great wave, and, presumably, earthquake, that split Inis Fitae (Mutton Island, not far southward) into three, in about A.D. 800. The belief in Kilstuithin seems common all round the bay from Moher to Milltown Malbay. The legends are numerous and lengthy, so I will only condense the principal.

Three chiefs, Ceannur of Liscannor, Ruidhin of Moher, and Stuithin, made a cattle raid to Loop Head, and were pursued and defeated at the creek between Liscannor and Lehinch; or a Dunbeg man plundered them, or Stuithin only, who was attacked at Bohercrochaun, south from Lehinch.

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[1] See Smith, *loc. cit.*: T. Crofton Croker's "Fairy Legends of the South of Ireland" (ed. 1862, p. 190, Cantillon's funeral) and *Journal*, Roy. Soc. Antt., Ir., vol. xl, p. 121.

[2] Mason's "Parochial Survey," vol. ii, p. 490. Kilrush Parish, Co. Clare, by Rev. J. Graham. "Ireland, its Scenery and Character," Mr. and Mrs. S. C. Hall, vol. ii, p. 436; and "Folk-lore," vol. xxi, p. 486.

[3] "Handbook to Lisdoonvarna" (1876), p. 64. "This church under the waves."

Stuithin either fled to his island and sank it by magic, or lost the magic key of it in the pursuit at the Boher, when the island at once sank. When the golden key is recovered from its hiding-place, under the Ogham monument, on Mount Callan, the island shall be disenchanted and rise over the sea. Its golden roofs are at times seen and its thyme-fields smelt by those sailing over it. It rises once in seven years[1] over the waves with gold-roofed towers and huge buildings, but whoever sees it dies before its next appearance. The "Monks of Kilcrea"[2] (Gleeman's story) records the belief in "lost Kilsapheen, its palaces, and towers of pride . . . all buried in the rushing tide and deep sea-waters green." Gerald Griffin clearly alludes to it: "Oft, through the breakers dividing, a city is seen . . . the bodement they say of the wonderful sight is death to the eyes that have seen it."

There is a long and evidently varnished (if not entirely fictitious) story by J. Geraghty in *The Irish Penny Journal* (vol. i, p. 362). He says that Kylestafeen extended 100 miles to the west of Ireland, that it is seen once in seven years, and if anyone can then drop earth on it the charm will be broken. Another legend says it was swallowed by an earthquake, and the name "Crochán" is connected with its submergence, with the collapse of the mountain at Dugort in Achill, and the breaking of Dunbriste in North Mayo. Otway was told that a whole barony fell away from the cliffs of Moher and Malbay, and that its magic key was under "Cuneen Miul's tomb" on Mount Callan.[3] It is from 1 to 3 fathoms deep on this reef.

SKERD, GALWAY BAY.—In 1864, Roderic O'Flaherty identified O Brasil with Beg Ara, or Little Aran, an imaginary island in Galway Bay. "Skerde, a wild island of huge rocks, the receptacle of a deale of seales," was the place of the apparition. It sometimes appeared to be a great city; sometimes it was full of flames, smoke, and apparitions of people running to and fro,[4] or like a number of ships, or great stacks, or ricks, not only on bright days, but on cloudy ones.[5] I myself heard no such legends at either Aran or Carna, to either side of Skerd, but Brasil is often mentioned in the former islands.

INISHBOFIN, CO. GALWAY.—It may seem strange to include an actual island among legendary ones, but a firm local belief exists that Bofin ("White Cow Island") was once a floating island. At last, ages ago, some fishermen in a

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[1] So in the Voyage of St. Brendan, chapter xiv, an island appears once in seven years. The same is told of Brasil and Monaster Ladra; see *infra*.

[2] P. 55 and notes, p. 436.

[3] Ordnance Survey "Letters" (MSS. R.I.Acad.), Co. Clare, vol. i, pp. 300–4, vol. ii, pp. 74–99. Journal of Limerick Field Club, vol. iii, p. 197; Folk-lore, vol. xxi, p. 485; Rev. Caesar Otway's "Tour in Connaught," p. 387.

[4] One recalls the "Island of Hell" in the *Imrama*.

[5] Roderic O'Flaherty's "Chorographical Description of hIar Connaught" (ed. Hardiman), pp. 68, 69.

fog "deemed they drew near to some country." They cautiously approached the unseen shore, landed, and lit a fire (or shook the ashes out of a pipe, or dropped a lighted turf, off a bunch of seaweed); then the fog cleared, and the land stood fixed. They lay between the sea and a great water, and saw a hag (or a lovely girl) driving a white cow to drink; she struck it (or the elder fisherman struck the woman, or the younger fisherman caught the cow's tail and found a root of seaweed in his hand), and the woman and cow became rocks, say the natives, or disappeared in the lake as told at Omey.[1] It is most probable that this is the legend found in the "Topography of Ireland," by Giraldus Cambrensis, at the end of the twelfth century. Among the western isles was "Phantastica"; a heap (of cloud) appeared on the waters, which the natives fancied to be a monster. Seeing it motionless, some lads rowed out in a *currach*, and failed to reach it during two days. On the third, by the advice of an old man, they fired a red-hot arrow at it, and the island became stationary and habitable, for "fire is hostile to anything phantasmal." As we shall see, the same "cure" was attempted in the last century to disenchant Manister Ladra.

Imaire Buidhe.—The "cod bank" of Imaire buidhe, some forty miles out to sea, is believed to be an enchanted sunken land. Some fishermen were carried to sea for two days from O'Maille's country, and saw an unknown land with sheep on its pastures, yet dared not, for fear of illusions, touch the shore, imagining that it was O Brasil. The tradition was believed till recently in North Mayo. It was probably of this bank that the Bofin fishers told how a fog arose, and they heard in it the bleating of sheep and lambs, though sixty miles out to sea. They saw leaves of apples and oaks, "and then the fog rose, and nothing was seen but the foam curling on the billow and the tossing of the porpoise."[2]

Manister Ladra, Co. Mayo.—Lewis[3] tells of "a shoal called Monaster Ladizi (Ladiri) over which the sea constantly breaks with great violence," about a mile to the west of Annagh in the Mullet. It was probably believed to have been an island with a church, or monastery, on it, and then to have sunk, occasionally rising over the waves, but eluding pursuers. Otway, in 1839, fell (like myself) under the fascination of the Mayo coast and its beliefs, and lovingly sought for their legends. According to "Mr. Mickletony"

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[1] O'Donovan, "Ordnance Survey Letters, Co. Mayo" (to which Bofin then belonged), vol. i, p. 485; Otway's "Tour in Connaught," p. 391; and local legends collected by Dr. Charles R. Browne (Proc. R.I.Acad., vol. iii, Ser. III, pp. 119), Dr. Fogarty, and myself (*ibid.*, vol. xxxi, Part 2, p. 58). Fire is a great preventive against magic; only human beings can light it. See Lady Wilde's "Ancient Legends, Mystic Charms, &c." (1887, vol. i, p. 71).

[2] "hIar Connaught," pp. 68–72, "Tour in Connaught," p. 38, p. 394.

[3] "Topographical Dictionary of Ireland" under *Kilmore Erris*.

O'Donnell, of Termoncarra, near Annagh, "Monaster Letteragh" rose, once in seven years, outside Iniskea, and was covered with churches and a monastery and tower. He had seen it himself from the "saddle of Achill"; a delightful green land with trees, houses, and people "extended many a rood." He added (probably "to amuse the gentleman" in the style of the times) that he had seen a woman come out of a house to cut a cabbage. Mr. George Crampton, an agent, said that it was a "Thalore tha whouy Druidhaigh"[1] (as Otway writes it), a druid land. It was arable and wooded, with a lofty castle on a mountain peak like Nephin. The fortress was occupied by armed giants sleeping beside their war-horses. Once in seven years a great bell rings, all awake, and the island becomes visible. Its monarch "Muiganoch Faigh Ree," "King of the three kingdoms behind" (Ireland), can be questioned as to untold heaps of gold, but at the least error in the questions the king vanishes in mocking laughter, or in thunder. Watty O'Kelly one time invoked the king, from the cliff opposite Eagle Island, to restore him a lost calf; but he blessed himself, instead of the king, and the proud ruler "of three kingdoms, each three times larger than Ireland," cursed, and vanished in a peal of thunder. One Barrett, then living in the Mullet, embarked in his boat with a "coal of fire," pursuing the elusive land for "forty" days till the coal went out, so he could not disenchant it.[2] I heard of Monaster Ladra in North Mayo, but am unable to separate the beliefs about it and the Great Sunken Land so far as collected by myself. It (Edye Rock) is $1\frac{3}{4}$ fathoms deep.

THE SUNKEN LAND.—I found no name for this in north Mayo save when it was confused with Manister Ladra. Belief in it prevailed in north Erris and Tirawley from Dunminulla to Downpatrick. In 1839 it was said to extend from near Teelin to the Stags of Broadhaven and thence half way to America. A boatman knew a woman named Lavelle who saw from the shore (when gathering Carrigeen moss) a delightful country of hills and valleys, with sheep browsing on the slopes, cattle in green pastures, and clothes drying on the hedges. A Ballycastle boatman, a native of Co. Sligo, corroborated this, adding that he had seen it twice at intervals of seven years, and if he lived to see it a third time he would be able to disenchant it. He could talk of nothing else, became idle and useless, and died, worn out and miserable, on the very eve of the expected third appearance. Lastly, Owen Gallagher, Lieutenant Henri's servant, heard of one Biddy Took, who, when gathering

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[1] I have to thank Professors Macalister and MacNeill for suggesting the Irish form "talamh atá faoi dhraoidheacht." I still seek the equivalent of the "Muiganoch Faigh Ree."

[2] Otway, "Erris and Tyrawly," pp. 79, 251, 400. One recalls the anonymous Arab MS. of 1484, called "Abstract of Wonders." ("In Northern Mists," vol. ii, p. 213) "In the great ocean is an island which is visible at sea at some distance . . . but, if one tries to approach it, it withdraws and disappears. If one returns to the place one started from, it is seen again as before.")

dulisk seaweed), asked some passing boatmen to put her out to an islet and fetch her back on their return: amused by her talk they brought her fishing, and soon got a "tremendous bite." They landed a green, fishy-looking child, quite human in shape, and in their fright let him escape and dive. The man who hooked him died suddenly within a year. Gallagher also said that he had fired at and wounded a seal; soon after, when far out to sea in his *currach*, he got lost in a fog-bank and reached an unknown island. An old man, moaning, with one eye blinded, stood on the shore and proved to be the seal. With more than human forgiveness, he warned his enemy to fly from the land of the seal-men, lest his (the seal's) sons and friends should avenge the cruelty.[1] Early Victorian stories did not lose in the telling.

The compiler of a manuscript dated 1636, and in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, tells how the Firbolgs fled to "the out islands" from the Tuatha De Danann: the latter in their turn fled—the writer knew not whither—"unless they do inhabit an island which lyeth far out to sea on the west of Connaught. And it is sometimes perceived by the inhabitants of Uaile and Iris. It is said to be seen from St. Helen's Head, being the furthest west point of land beyond the haven of Calbegs (Killybegs), now Teeling Head."[2] He confuses Monaster Ladra with the Sunken Land.

Tir Hudi.—General Vallancey tells of a phantom island appearing off the north-west of Donegal and the northern coasts. At the former place it is called Tir Hudi; it contains a city which once possessed all the riches of the world, the key of which lies buried under some Druidical monument.[3] Vallancey is too fanciful and careless to be of much authority, and evidently confuses the Donegal "land" with Kilstuithin; yet it is curious that the unidentified island of Dathuli[4] is shown to the north-west of Donegal. Otway had the good fortune once to see this northern phantom. "I was a witness to the appearance of land rising out of the sea near the Giant's Causeway," he says.[5] There is also a belief in north Donegal of such a land "far outside Inistrahull," which can be never reached and is rarely seen, "a sea-form of the mist brumal."

Brasil.—Most famous of all the phantom islands, and known along the

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[1] "Erris and Tyrawly," p. 247 and p. 400. He cites Whitehurst and Hamilton on p. 245 for confirmation, and regards the evidence of the broken coast and traces of volcanic action in north Antrim as decisive. "Tour in Connaught," p. 439.

[2] James Hardiman's "Irish Minstrelsy," vol. i, p. 138. The present St. Helen's Head is far northward up the Donegal coast.

[3] "Vindication of the Ancient History of Ireland," introd., p. 51.

[4] Some have identified this as "San Chuli," a supposed equivalent to "St. Kilda." If not Inistrahull (y. trachull), it may be Rockall.

[5] "Erris," p. 249.

whole western coast, is Brasil, Ui Breasail, or Hy Brazil.[1] We have seen how conspicuous a place it took in the maps of Italy, Spain, France, and even England and Germany. Its name is obscure; some say it is from the Irish *Bres*, noble, or, as Nansen says, "fortunate." It was certainly the "I del berzel, anesto isola de hibernia, son dite fortunato" of Fra Mauro. Others say that "Brazil" is Spanish, meaning a "red wood," suggesting the meaning "Land of Wood," i.e. Markland, as "Ilha Verde" is Greenland,[2] but the Markland equation seems very far-fetched. I only call attention to the name of a mythical Irish monarch, "Bress." A more historical person, Bresal, or Brecan, an early Christian missionary (a contemporary with Enda in Aranmore about A.D. 480), might also (like St. Brendan, St. Ailbe, and St. Flannan) have been chosen to give his name to an island which, at least from the seventeenth century, was so firmly believed in among the people of Aran, the very island which contains Breasal's grave.

It was clearly brought about in prehistoric times by mirage and fog-bank. The setting sun and the place of the dead helped its religious significance; it became Tir Tairngire and Magh Mell, the Isle of the Living, the Isle of Truth, the Isle of Joy, the Isle of Fair Women, the Isle of Apples, "an Eden, away, far away." Christianity, trustee to dead Paganism, made it the Land of Promise. Then the belief materialized before commerce, and it became (as Sir David Wilson[3] writes) "an imaginary island of Brazil that flitted about the maps of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries with ever-varying site and proportion, till it vanished." It was not a reef or a shoal, but a mist or mirage "sprung from the sea without root"; but it held its place on the charts from 1320 to 1865, and was said to have been seen at close quarters in 1791. It seized on the Celtic fancy from the *Imrama* of the eighth or ninth century to the poems a thousand years later. Moore longed to tread the golden path of rays to the "Isle of Rest"; Griffin sang of the Aran fisherman lost in its pursuit, and Hogan of "the charms of Hy Brazil, by spirit-hands painted, 'mid the waves' sunset glory." Far in the past the "Giolla an fhiuga" tells of a traveller from Spain, to "Espain," to Erin, to "the well of the bald white cow" (Inisbofin?) to "the garden of the Hesperides, on the west side, down from Aran, where the sun goes to its couch."[4] Aran was strong in the faith in Brasil.

Apart from the map-name from 1327 and Mauro's note, I know nothing definite written till the reign of Charles I. The MS. of 1636, already

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[1] I am not aware of any even moderately old authority for these last two forms.
[2] E.g. Fischer, *loc. cit.*, p. 94 and p. 99.
[3] "The Lost Atlantis" (1892), p. 38.
[4] "Irish Texts Society," vol. i, p. 21.

cited, tells how Captain Rich and several sailors saw an island off the west coast; it had a harbour, with headlands, and vanished in the mist. The famous enchanters inhabiting it by magic skill concealed it.[1] In 1644, Boullaye Le Gouz, as he came near Ireland, saw a phantom land, 1 to 3 miles distant from his ship, with trees and cattle. His pilot told him of a spectral island (? Buss), near Greenland, and of many floating islands near the Pole.[2]

In the Dublin Parliament of 1663, an Ulster member (W. Hamilton, of Derry) said that a Quaker had a revelation that he (Hamilton) was "ordained" to win the magic land with a new ship. His letter remains (March 2nd, 1675), to a friend, whose cousin, "a wise man and a great scholar," had taken out a patent (not to be found), granting the island, in the reign of Charles I. Multitudes (he wrote) had seen "O Brazile, or the enchanted island," a "large absolute island," off the coast of Ulster.

Captain John Nisbet, of Lisneskay, in Fermanagh, had settled at Killibegs; he "fraught" a ship for France in September, 1674. After a clear, frosty night they ran into a fog and high sea near an unknown island. The mate, with eight persons, landed, the ship being in 3 fathoms of water. On landing, they passed a wood, and found cattle, sheep, and horses, with black rabbits. They reached a strong castle, and knocked and called in vain. They returned to the shore and lit a fire, the night being cold; a hideous noise ensued, and they fled to the boat. Next day an old Scottish gentleman and servants appeared on the shore, and told the captain, when taken on board, that the land was O Brazile, and that he and his men were long imprisoned in the castle "by the malicious, diabolical art of a great negromancer." The castle had fallen when the fire was lit. The island was 60 miles long by 30 miles wide, and full of furies; it was also called *Oiléan Shiar*, or West Island. The rescued men were brought to Killibegs; and by their ancient clothes, money, and old-fashioned talk persuaded many of their truth![3]

In August, 1668 (Roderic O'Flaherty tells us), one Morough Ley (still living in 1684) was at Irrosainhagh, to the north of Galway Bay. He was carried off by two strangers to O Brasil for two days, and was then brought back to Seapoint, near Galway, hoodwinked. He had been given a medical work (modern tradition, still vivid, says that it was not to be opened for seven years). It is now in the library of the Royal Irish Academy. It is a vellum book, written in Irish and Latin; the date, 1434, is found on p. 76, and the

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[1] "Irish Minstrelsy," vol. i, p. 70. He says that Brasil was marked at longitude 3° and latitude 50° 20′.

[2] "Tour in Ireland" (ed. Crofton Croker).

[3] "Irish Minstrelsy," vol. i, p. 369.

name P. Lee is written in it. Morough Ley petitioned to be reinstated in his lands under the Act of Settlement, in 1664, but in vain; being of a hereditary medical family (as his name implies), he probably made his living by aid of a family book of medicine from 1668, and his new-found skill caused the legend.[1] O'Flaherty mentions O'Brasil, or Beg Ara, as "set down on cards of navigation," whether "real and firm land, kept hidden by special ordinance of God, ... or else some illusion of airy clouds, ... or the craft of evil spirits"; he then tells of the illusions at Skerde.[2]

The Aran people now believe that Brasil is seen only once in seven years. They call it the Great Land. In Clare, I have heard from several fishermen at Kilkee and elsewhere that they had seen it; they also told legends of people lost when trying to reach it.

I myself have seen the illusion some three times in my boyhood, and even made a rough coloured sketch after the last event, in the summer of 1872. It was a clear evening, with a fine golden sunset, when, just as the sun went down, a dark island suddenly appeared far out to sea, but not on the horizon. It had two hills, one wooded; between these, from a low plain, rose towers and curls of smoke. My mother, brother, Ralph Hugh Westropp, and several friends saw it at the same time; one person cried that he could "see New York"! With such realistic appearance (and I have since seen apparent islands in 1887 in Clare, and in 1910 in Mayo), it is not wonderful that the belief should have been so strong, probably from the time when Neolithic man first looked across the Atlantic from our western coast. It coloured Irish thought; stood for the pagan Elysium and the Christian Paradise of the Saints; affected the early map-makers; and sent Columbus over the trackless deep to see wonders greater than Maelduin and Brendan were fabled to have seen, till Antilha, Verde, and Brazil became replaced by real islands and countries; and the birds, flowers, and fruit of the *Imrama* by those of the gorgeous forests of the Amazon in the real Brazil. "Admiration is the first step leading up to knowledge, for he that wondereth shall reign."

8.—CONCLUSIONS.

I venture to suggest the following conclusions, leaving to scientific men the questions of subsidence and the formation of the ocean-beds, which some have put back to the dateless Miocene:—

1. The outer isles, Brazil, Brendan's, and Ailbe's, are purely mythical, or,

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[1] "hIar Connaught," Hardiman's Notes, p. 69.

[2] "hIar Connaught," p. 68. I may add to the above works, "Irish Folk-lore," by *Lageniensis* (Rev. J. O'Hanlon), Hy Breasal, p. 114; Tir na nOg, p. 290. Crofton Croker's section on the last, in "Fairy Legends," only refers to towns under lakes.

at best, based on mirage and fog-bank. This may be modified, should it be proved that the Porcupine Bank (which so closely corresponds in position with Brazil) has been above water even in an early human period. If it be not Brasil, "the Deep says, It is not in me"! However, even the nine thousand years before the time of Solon may be inadequate to bridge the abyss of time between us and the sinking of the sea-bed through which the Erne and Shannon cut their ancient channels, now deep beneath the waves.

2. The traditional islands along the coast, which are represented by actual reefs, were very probably actual islands down to a late period. The case of Mutton Island, split into three parts between 799 and 803, shows that the deep hollows now found between the fragments belong to merely 1100 years of denudation. Other cases occur, such as the entire removal of Cankeeragh Head in North Kerry, behind the earthworks that defended it; the isolation of Dun Briste in North Mayo after the dry stone-wall and gate were built; the denudation of drift-capped rocks, like Glassillanadun, at Bofin and Caherrush in Clare, the comparatively recent opening of Bealachglas Sound at Achillbeg, changing the promontory fort of Dunnaglas to a detached islet. Anyone who has studied the ancient remains along the coast can readily believe that churches and towers and the very islands they stood on could be swept away, even since the Norman invasion (the latest page of old Irish history), and tidal, or even submerged, reefs alone remain. Take with these the vast inroads of the sea elsewhere within the last thousand years, at the Godwin Sands, the Channel Islands, the east coast of England, Heligoland—why extend the list?—and Lyoness, Kilstuithin, and Monaster Ladra all seem possibly to have been no "baseless fabric," but real lands, in no remote geologic past. Everywhere "the strong-based promontory" and shore islet have yielded to the waves. Submerged forests and bogs, it should be noted, are found near the alleged sites of the Islands at Ballyheige, the Clare Coast, Aran, the Mullet, and elsewhere, bearing out the belief in fairly recent subsidence.[1]

3. Of folk-lore, the power of fire to disenchant and fix firmly any phantom island is a cardinal article of belief; so is the appearance of these lands at intervals of seven years.

4. Some islands, though possibly none on these coasts, may have been upheaved and sunk by some volcanic outburst, as at Huitserk, near the great Iöculs of Iceland, and the islands near Terceira and St. Michael, not to look beyond the nearer Atlantic. Very possibly some such event originated the tradition of the vast continent sunk in the waves of which Plato told.

I hope that this attempt to concentrate our knowledge may lead other

[1] See vol. xxxi, Proc. R.I.A., part ii, pp. 4, 74.

workers to fuller study. That in many points I may have overlooked evidence or erred in judgment is to be expected in the beginning of an investigation. Should, as I fear, this prove true, I trust that it may lead rather to the amendment of the fault than to merely empty criticism.

APPENDIX.—DETAILED MAPS OF IRELAND, 1300–1600.

Apart from the general maps in which Ireland is introduced, the detailed maps are of very great importance. There may be said to be maps of three schools—(1) the Portolan maps from Dulcert to 1560, influenced from about 1480 by the Ptolemy maps; (2) the Elizabethan maps, overlapping the last, and their copyists' maps; and (3) the Down Survey, 1655, and the maps influenced by it. I give here only the principal detailed maps of the first type from 1300 to 1560. As I hope to deal later with the origin and place-names of the early maps, I will only briefly say that business relations with France and Italy from the Norman invasion onward are apparent from even the most casual study of Irish documents during the thirteenth century, and must have familiarized the merchants and mariners of France, Spain, and Italy with at least the coasts of Ireland. From the experience of these pioneers, and for the new-comers, "portolanos," or coasting maps, were compiled, giving the towns and chief features important to navigators before the compass came into general use. The contrast between these truthful and practical maps and the learned nonsense of the scholars' maps is very marked.[1]

French (or rather Norman) influence underlies these maps from the first; we have such names as *le deng*, Dingle; *la Mene*, the Maine, *l'eocholo* (eochaill), Youghal; *lebano*, Bannow, and *laiban*, the Bann in Derry; but non-Norman names as Y. de lago, Lespor dirlanda, Toro, and Vaca have evidently a more southern origin. Only a few tribe-names are recorded:—*Tirconnell* and *Ibane* (Ui Baghaine), or Bannagh, in Donegal; *Lumul* or *Omallos*, Ui Mhaille in Mayo; *I' Barchi* (Ui bratha) or Iveragh, in Kerry, and *Corcala*, or Corca laidhe, in Co. Cork. Traces of folk-lore, such as the "368" isles in Clew Bay, now reputed "as many as the days in the year," St. Patrick's Purgatory, the Bull[2] and Cow off Kenmare River, and above all *Brasil*, or the Fortunate Island. The place-names abound round the coast up to the Bann at one side and Teelin on the other; but few can be identified from Co. Antrim to Co. Mayo.

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[1] Compare, e.g., Haldingham's map at Hereford, 1280, with Vesconte's and Dalaorto's maps about 1320–30.

[2] It bears the very name *Bui* in the 1450 map (*boy*, 1529, 1544) that (as *Bo Bui*) occurs in the present legend of the Bull.

Taking the unmistakable names in the fourteenth-century maps alone, we find the following are given:—Tirconnell (*Terconal*, or *Triconel*); Aran, *abron*; Teelin, *conteri dela* (and *cana de telan*); Achill, *archill*; Umhaille, *amallos*, Burrishoole (Burgeis ui mhaille), *Borgeali*; Clew Bay, *y e lacaris*, *y. ceeteriii*; Inisbofin, *boffin*; Ardillaun, *ardelin*; Aran Isles, *arini*; Limerick, *lagmerick*; the mythical O Brazil, *y. de Brazil*; Mount Brandon, *mont S. Brandā*; Dingle, *le deng*; Skellig, *scalis*; Blaskets, *Brascher*, *blasct*; Valentia (Dairbhre), *drauri*; Dorsey, *drosey*; Bear, *bire*; Killaconenagh, *cauocauena*; Carbery, *corabory* (and *domboryı*; Clear Island, *Clara*; Timoleague, *tamalac* (and *camelat*); Old Head of Kinsale, *Cap Veco*; Kinsale, *andelforda*[1]; Cork, *corcha*; Ballycotton, *bailicoti*; Youghal, *Veochal*; Ardmore, *arimori*; Dungarvan, *garva*, Waterford, *gataforda*; New Ross, *rois*; Fethard, *fredit*; Bannow, *elebano*; Saltees, *salteis*; Wexford, *ocsorda*; Arklow, *archelo*; Wicklow, *Vichello* and *Uicallo*; Bray, *bre*; Dublin, *develin*, *duvelin*; Ireland's Eye, *irlandesi*; Swords, *sordes*; Lusk, *losco*; Drogheda, *drogai*, *doudrich*; Meath, *mida*; Dundalk, *dandul*; Carlingford, *carenforda*; Strangford, *stariforda*; Knockfergus, i.e. Carrickfergus, *chenocfirg*; Larne (Ollarba), *Ullerford*; Dunseverick, *donsobri*; Portrush, *Porto rossa*; The Bann, *lebana*, *laiban*.

In the following century a few additions are made. *Doeaga*, or Dooega, in Achill; *Galuei*, or Galway; Kerry Head, or Cahercarbery (apparently), *Carcorbere*[2]; The Cow, *uaca*; Dalkey, *delguei*; Ardglas, *argules*; Bonamargi, *momoarga*, *momeri*; Rathlin, *ragroni*; and Malin, *imaili*. By tabulating the results of all the accessible maps, many of the names, though doubtful in any one copy, can be reduced to limits of certainty.

The maps with the fullest details are those of A. Dalaorta, 1325; Perrinus Vesconte, 1327: A. Dulcert, 1339; Anonymous, "Portolano L. Gaddiano," 1351; Anonymous, *circa* 1360; The Pizigani, 1367; The Catalan Atlas, 1375; Anonymous, "Portolano Pinelli Walckenaar," 1384; G. Soleri, 1385; Jacobus Giroldis, 1426; A. Bianco, 1436; G. Benincasa, 1448; Anonymous, Upsal map, *circa* 1450; Fra Maura, 1459; Benincasa, 1467; Conte Freducci, 1497; Juan de la Cosa, 1500; Argentine, "Ptolemaeus," 1513; Diego Ribero, 1529; B. Agnesi, 1544; P. Descelliers, 1546; G. Calapoda, 1552; D. Olivez, 1568; Diego Homen, 1569. The later maps are frequently affected by the English maps from Dean Nowell, *ante* 1576, down to Speed.

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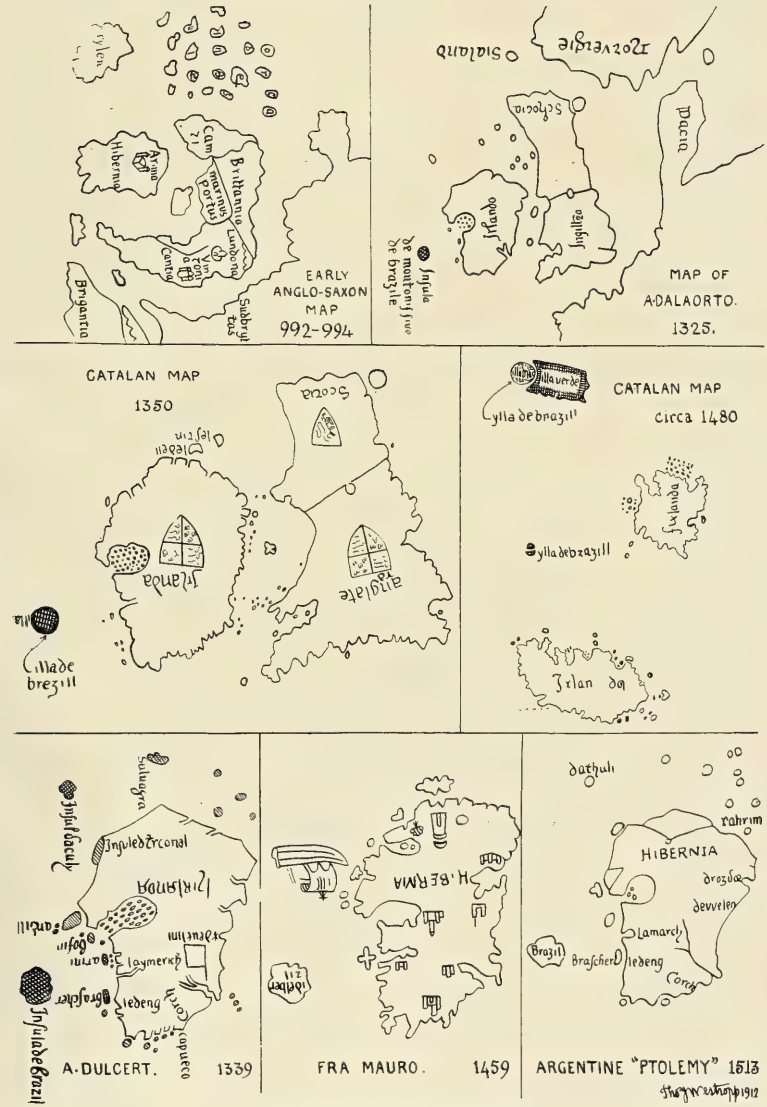
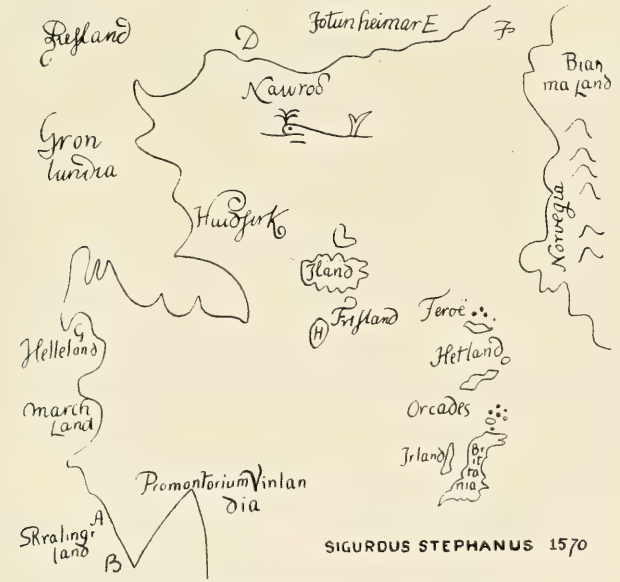
[1] "Endelford," 1395, Patent Roll; "Edilvorth" on early seal; Quinzala on later maps from 1450.

[2] The name is very corrupt; forms like C. Stronbere, Stronber, and Castronbre occur. It is possibly "Cah-Corbre," or "Cahcorbere," as Kerry Head was too important a sea-mark to be omitted, especially when Loop Head was not given.



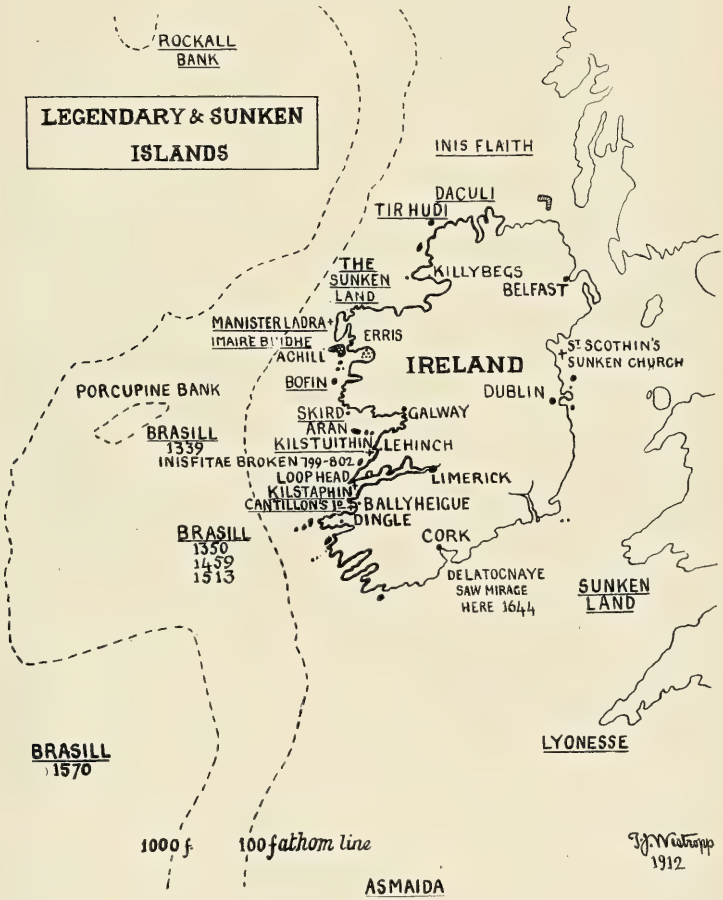
Early maps showing "Brasill" Island.
(Most of the place-names omitted.)

WESTROPP.—LEGENDARY ISLANDS OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC.



The North Atlantic on Southern and Icelandic Maps.

WESTROPP.—LEGENDARY ISLANDS OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC.



WESTROPP.—LEGENDARY ISLANDS OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC.